

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# Modern Language Notes

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## EROS AND PSYCHE: A NIETZSCHEAN MOTIF IN ANGLO-AMERICAN LITERATURE

Heine's poem *Psyche* is well known:

In der Hand die kleine Lampe,  
In der Brust die große Glut,  
Schleicht Psyche zu dem Lager,  
Wo der holde Schläfer ruht.  
Sie errötet und sie zittert,  
Wie sie seine Schönheit sieht—  
Der enthüllte Gott der Liebe,  
Er erwacht und er entflieht.  
Achtzehnhundertjähr'ge Buße!  
Und die Ärmste stirbt beinah!  
Psyche fastet und kasteit sich,  
Weil sie Amorn nackend sah.

This poem of Heine's, together with others like *Die Beschwörung*, *Auf diesem Felsen bauen wir*, *Der Tannhäuser* and many passages from his prose works, contrasts the pagan and Christian views of sex. Paganism knows nothing of the stigma which Christianity has put on the sex act, nor of the sublimation which the sex instinct has undergone under the impact of Christian spirituality. The distinction between lower and higher, or profane and sacred, love, which we recognize in everyday thinking, is a manifestation of Christian dualism and is alien to the harmony between body and soul which paganism has always striven to attain. As long as love is naive, instinctive, frankly sexual, man is happy. Once it becomes conscious, intellectual, spiritualized, he loses his peace of mind and develops a sense of guilt towards life in general.

It is perhaps not altogether idle to point out, even to a *Germanist*, that these ideas are part of a deep intellectual current which

has become central in German thought of the last two centuries: the conflict between paganism and Christianity which, in a sense, dominates German literature from the *Aufklärung* to the present day. But no one has been as influential in shaping the pagan tradition in German thought as Heine and Nietzsche. In their writings we find the clearest, fullest and most vigorous statement of the issues involved and through them the tradition has spread into non-German literature in two successive waves.<sup>1</sup>

What are these issues? The neo-pagan believes that man is faced with a choice between two *Weltanschauungen* which are diametrically opposed to each other and which allow of no compromise. The one affirms life on this earth in all its aspects, with its joys and sorrows, its pleasures and pains. Life is desirable even at its bitterness; the very destructive forces in nature testify to her eternal fertility and creativeness. Dionysos, cut to pieces, will be reborn again; this is the central mystery in the pagan religion.

In contrast, the Christian conception of life is altogether otherworldly, *jenseitig*. Nietzsche is the most outspoken of the German pagans; he accuses Christianity of the deepest crimes against the spirit of man, against nature herself. By seeking to curb man's instincts, especially his will to power and self-development, Christianity condemns him to a life of gloom, of joyless asceticism, of spiritual impoverishment and frustration, to a life which is death. The pagan virtues are those which further the development of man's chthonic forces: the aristocratic principle,<sup>2</sup> physical beauty

<sup>1</sup> Heine's "Hellenism and Hebraism" is taken over by Matthew Arnold, who gives it a characteristically Victorian twist; from Arnold it goes to the Powys brothers. The influence of Heine's pagan doctrine (itself deriving from the French Saint-Simonians) on the Parnassians and on Baudelaire should be investigated.

<sup>2</sup> A brief summary like the one offered here is bound to oversimplify a complex situation. What is here referred to as "the pagan tradition" is anything but a cut and dried body of dogmas; it is a "tradition," which has grown and developed and changed its orientation in accordance with the prevailing *Zeitgeist*. Thus Heine's paganism is not aristocratic, like Nietzsche's; on the contrary, it is Christian and democratic. "Wir stiften eine Demokratie gleichherrlicher, gleichheiliger, gleichseliger Götter." (*Werke* (ed. Welzel), VII, 266.) Heine's attempt to combine democracy with paganism is an aberration into which he may have been led by the political fashion of the day. The two are incompatible. (Cf. Thomas Mann's essay *Goethe und Tolstoy*.) Or is this an expression of the dualism that was forever raging in Heine's soul? See Miss E. M. Butler's sug-

and prowess, pride, courage, war; Christianity promotes what Emerson called the restrictive or self-effacing virtues: humility, self-sacrifice, pity, equality, peace, universal brotherhood. The mission of Christianity has been to transcend the bounds which nature imposes on man. Instinct versus intellect, *Natur* versus *Geist*, the unconscious versus conscious cerebration: these are the polarities in the pagan-Christian conflict.

Our special interest narrows down to three aspects of the pagan philosophy: its attitude to the body, to woman and to sex. Paganism emphasizes the physical side of life, the senses, the flesh, the appetites; these are not only good in themselves, but through them life receives its fullest meaning. Wedekind's paradox "*Das Fleisch hat seinen eigenen Geist*" is the perfect motto for neo-paganism. Reference need only be made at this point to Heine's essay *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, to the section *Von den Verächtern des Leibes* in Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* and to Wedekind's Novelle *Rabbi Esra*.

The harsh attitude which modern paganism adopts towards woman is a natural corollary of the aristocratic principle. With an eye on D. H. Lawrence, one may say that Nietzsche anticipates the Strindbergian thesis of a perpetual struggle for power between the sexes and that he is unequivocally on the side of the poor, downtrodden male. Modern woman has been pampered by the Christian-democratic ideals of Rousseau and the French Revolution; she is in rebellion against the state of servitude which is natural to her and her revolt heralds the destruction of European civilization.

There is one other motif in this general complex of ideas that make up the pagan view of life. Again the source seems to be Heine. In the essay *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* he writes:

Die nächste Aufgabe ist, gesund zu werden; denn wir fühlen uns noch sehr schwach in den Gliedern. Die heiligen Vampire des Mittelalters haben uns so viel Lebensblut ausgesaugt. Und dann müssen der Materie noch große Sühnopfer geschlachtet werden, damit sie die alten Beleidigungen verzeihe. Es wäre sogar ratsam, wenn wir Festspiele anordneten, und der Materie noch mehr außerordentliche Entschädigungs-Ehren erwiesen. Denn das Christentum, unfähig die Materie zu vernichten, hat sie überall flettiert, es hat die edelsten Genüsse herabgewürdigt, und die Sinne mußten heucheln und

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gestive discussion of Heine in her book *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (Cambridge, 1935).

es entstand Lüge und Sünde . . . Die Materie wird nur alsdann böse, wenn sie heimlich konspirieren muß gegen die Usurpationen des Geistes, wenn der Geist sie fletiert hat und sie sich aus Selbstverachtung prostituiert, oder wenn sie gar mit Verzweiflungshaß sich an dem Geiste rächt; und somit wird das Übel nur ein Resultat der spiritualistischen Welteinrichtung.<sup>3</sup>

The medieval Church transformed the old pagan gods into Christian devils, turned Olympus into Hell and, as the Tannhäuser legend shows, made the goddess Venus a special target of ecclesiastical zeal. Nietzsche repeats this idea many times in his writings —most succinctly in § 76 of *Morgenröthe*:

Böse denken heißt böse machen. — Die Leidenschaften werden böse und tückisch, wenn sie böse und tückisch betrachtet werden. So ist es dem Christentum gelungen, aus Eros und Aphrodite — großen idealfähigen Mächten — höllische Kobolde und Truggeister zu schaffen, durch die Martern, welche es in dem Gewissen der Gläubigen bei allen geschlechtlichen Erregungen entstehen ließ . . . Die Zeugung des Menschen mit dem bösen Gewissen verschwistern! — Zuletzt hat diese Verteufelung des Eros einen Komödien-Ausgang bekommen: der "Teufel" Eros ist allmählich den Menschen interessanter als alle Engel und Heiligen geworden, Dank der Munkel- und Geheimtuerie der Kirche in allen erotischen Dingen: sie hat bewirkt, bis in unsere Zeiten hinein, daß die Liebesgeschichte das einzige wirkliche Interesse wurde, das allen Kreisen gemein ist, — in einer dem Altertum unbegreiflichen Übertreibung, der später einmal auch noch das Gelächter nachfolgen wird.

And an aphorism in *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (§ 168) sums up the whole matter: "Das Christentum gab dem Eros Gift zu trinken: —er starb zwar nicht daran, aber entartete, zum Laster."

The pagan-Christian conflict, in the formulation which Heine and Nietzsche gave it, is widespread in European and American literature from the later nineteenth century to the present. The present study is restricted to an investigation of two writers: the English novelist D. H. Lawrence and the American playwright Eugene O'Neill.

## 2.

Lawrence's acquaintance with Nietzsche goes back to his teaching days. E. T., the friend of his youth, records in her memoir of him that Lawrence discovered Nietzsche in the library at Croydon and began to talk about the will to power in a way which convinced her that he had come upon something new and engrossing. Lawrence

<sup>3</sup> Heine: *Werke*, VII, 263-4.

himself, in one of his earliest stories (which is obviously autobiographical)<sup>4</sup> mentions Nietzsche as one of the authors who had formed his mind. What had Nietzsche to offer Lawrence? The answer is: everything.

The similarity in temperament and mental fibre between the two men is striking. Lawrence's passionate, fanatical iconoclasm, his whole-hearted belief in the power of ideas is strongly reminiscent of Nietzsche. Indeed Lawrence's *literal* belief in the mysteries of sun and moon worship and, above all, in the mystery of sex, have a distinctly German flavor about them: one thinks of Hölderlin and his gods, of Winckelmann the latter-day Greek, of Stefan George of the Munich period.

Lawrence espouses Nietzsche's irrationalism to a degree that would have embarrassed the master. His hatred of *Aufklärung* is so extreme as to appear petulant and childish. Enlightenment, as embodied in modern science, meant for Lawrence the destruction of the mystery that is life, because it diminishes man's sense of wonder and blunts his sensitiveness.<sup>5</sup> "My great religion" Lawrence wrote to a friend, "is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what our blood feels and believes and says is always true. The intellect is only a bit and a bridle. What do I care about knowledge? All I want is to answer to my blood, direct, without fribbling intervention of mind, or moral or what not."<sup>6</sup> Lawrence's eternal lament is that "ours is an excessively conscious age; we know so much, we feel so little." He echoes Nietzsche's contempt for our modern Alexandrinism: "wir haben keine Bildung, nur ein Wissen um die Bildung."<sup>7</sup> "Culture and civilization" writes Lawrence in *Apocalypse*, "are tested by vital consciousness. Are we more vitally conscious than an Egyptian three thousand years ago? . . . Our conscious range is wide but shallow as a sheet of paper. We have no depth to our consciousness . . . Our culture cannot understand the ancient cult-lore, because culture is an activity of the mind,

<sup>4</sup> *A Modern Lover* (London, 1934), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Aldous Huxley: Introduction to *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence* (London, 1932), p. xiv.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in J. W. Cunliffe: *English Literature in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1933), p. 215.

<sup>7</sup> *Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben* § 4.



cult-lore an activity of the senses."<sup>8</sup> And, like Nietzsche, Lawrence finds in Socrates the fountain-head of Western intellectualism, that is decadence.

They are at one also in their attitude to power and democracy. In the *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* and in many of his essays, Lawrence labors the familiar argument that Nature is full of cruelty, inequality, favoring the principles of aristocracy. Progress is possible only if the principle of power is allowed to dominate, when the strong conquers the weak. "The terms higher and lower, as applied to civilizations, mean being endowed with greater or lesser will to power." Democracy destroys the natural, organic hierarchy on which all society should be based: with the few individuals on top and the mass of nonentities ministering to the needs of these superior few. For this natural order democracy substitutes the rule of the many, who are an aggregate of fragments, each of which falsely thinks itself a whole individuality.<sup>9</sup>

Lawrence is as violent an enemy of Christianity as Nietzsche, and pretty much for the same reasons. He makes Christianity principally responsible for the many evils from which modern man suffers. For him, as for Nietzsche, Christianity is essentially the spirit of democracy. Its central doctrine of love for all men is inimical to the development of personality in those few who have a potential personality to develop. By focussing attention on the "thou," Christianity has destroyed the "I." On the other hand, it fosters the growth of individuality in the masses, who have only the tiniest touch of individuality in their make-up. These lower orders, whom Nietzsche called "die Fabrikware der Natur," are taught to cultivate envy and hatred of their betters, to assume an attitude of self-righteousness, self-conceit, self-importance.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.

Our main interest, however, is in those three aspects of the pagan *Weltanschauung* which were singled out earlier in this paper: its attitude to the body, to sex, and to the degradation of the sexual instinct by Christianity.

<sup>8</sup> *Apocalypse* (London, 1932), pp. 83, 85.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

In a striking essay, entitled *The Risen Lord*,<sup>10</sup> Lawrence uses Christ as a symbol for three possible attitudes to life within Christianity itself. The Jesus whom we celebrate at Christmas, the Christ child in the lap of the Virgin Mary, is the symbol of man as the guileless innocent child, sheltered in the arms of his loving and protecting mother. At Easter, more specifically on Good Friday, we celebrate another Christ, the Crucified Lord, standing alone in this world, abandoned and betrayed by His fellow men; He is the prototype of the young men who fought in World War I, who stood beyond the help of wife or mother, for whom the protected Christ child had lost all meaning. And now, concludes Lawrence, a third generation is growing up. These young men cannot go back to the idyllic Christ child; but neither can they remain in the purely negative attitude of the Crucified Christ. They need a new symbol, a positive way of life. And Lawrence offers them the figure of the resurrected Christ of Easter Sunday. This is Christ risen again, not merely in the spirit, but in the flesh, become man again with all that the word implies:

He rises with hands and feet, as Thomas knew for certain: and if with hands and feet, then with lips and stomach and genitals of a man. Christ risen, and risen in the whole of His flesh, not with some left out . . . If Jesus rose as a full man, in full flesh and soul, then He rose to take a woman to Himself, to live with her, and to know the tenderness and blossoming of the twoness with her; He who had been hitherto so limited to His oneness, or His universality, which is the same thing. If Jesus rose in the full flesh, He rose to know the tenderness of a woman, and the great pleasure of her, and to have children by her . . . If Jesus rose a full man in the flesh, He rose to continue His fight with the hard-boiled conventionalists like Roman judges and Jewish priests and money-makers of every sort. But this time it would no longer be the fight of self-sacrifice that would end in crucifixion. This time it would be a freed man fighting to shelter the rose of life from being trampled on by the pigs.<sup>11</sup>

This third conception of Christianity's message becomes the basis of Lawrence's beautiful Novelle *The Man Who Died*, which is perhaps the most daring treatment of the life of Christ in all literature. This tale, like George Moore's *The Brook Kerith*, tells the story of Jesus after the crucifixion. Jesus does not die on the cross; He awakens to life in His tomb and goes out into the world alone. He lives with poor peasants until He is strong enough to resume

<sup>10</sup> *Assorted Articles* (London, 1930), p. 105 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111 ff.

His wanderings on earth. As He reviews His first life on earth, He realizes that His whole teaching was false. His message of selfless love, of self-sacrifice for others was a mistake. Henceforth He will live for Himself, apart from others, and strive to realize His own potentialities of character. He will no longer seek to convert His fellow men, because the missionary spirit is a form of compulsion and therefore of intolerance, which violates the rights of others to their own personality. Above all, He will allow His body those rights which He had denied it in His previous existence: He will seek a woman whom he can love sexually without thereby losing his own identity.

After some time He comes to a temple of Isis, presided over by a beautiful virgin priestess, who is waiting for the risen god Osiris to fulfil her destiny. The unknown wanderer stirs her as no man before Him has done; she feels "in her blood" that this is the Osiris for whom she has been waiting. Their physical union concludes the conversion to paganism which Jesus has been undergoing since His resurrection. He is convinced that His former teaching: "blessed are they that mourn" was mistaken; for He now sees life as a supreme value. The love which He offered men and which He demanded from them in turn was a dead love. "Perhaps" He muses, "Judas loved me in the flesh and I willed that he should love me bodilessly, with the corpse of love."<sup>12</sup> For there had dawned on Him the reality of the soft warm love which is in touch and which is full of delight. And when He is threatened with a second martyrdom, He refuses to face the prospect, for now He has something to live for. So He leaves the priestess behind Him and sets out on a new journey in joy and hope.

It is clear from this literary "commentary" on the earlier essay, that Lawrence's use of the risen pagan Christ as a symbol within the Christian mythology is merely a polemic device, a Christian weapon turned against Christianity itself. For Lawrence, like Nietzsche, is convinced that Christianity and paganism will always be mortal enemies and he has no hesitancy in choosing sides in the feud. There are scores of passages in Lawrence's works, in which his hostility to Christianity is open and uncompromising.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine Lawrence's complicated metaphysic of sex. After treating the sexual relationship

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

between man and woman from many different angles and giving various solutions to the conflict between the sexes, Lawrence arrives, in his last novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, at a view which might well be summed up in Wedekind's formula: "Das Fleisch hat seinen eigenen Geist."

More central to our investigation is Lawrence's treatment of the "degradation" motif: the contention that Christianity has turned healthy sex into something devilish, and the consequences of this degradation. In Lawrence's writings this defilement of the sacred mystery of sex occurs almost exclusively in the form of the cold, heartless promiscuity that was practised by the youth of the "lost generation," those who came to manhood shortly after the First World War. In the novel *Women in Love* it is the group of Bohemians whom Gerald Crich meets in London; in *Aaron's Rod* it is the Bricknell set; in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* the week-end visitors at Wragby. Lawrence is savage in his denunciation of this depravity. Sex as a cocktail, licentiousness because it is smart, the body as a toy to play with: all this he hates. Equally intense is his hatred of Don Juanerie, wearisome philandering, that comes from coldness of heart, whereas true sex is warm-hearted, fired by the flame of life. All obscenity and pornography is, in Lawrence's view, a degradation of sex and springs from a Puritanical conception of sex as something to be suppressed. The Puritan who has practised repression of sex for years falls into sexual indecency in advanced age.

#### 4.

If Lawrence takes over the Nietzschean "system" in its entirety, O'Neill may be said to touch Nietzsche only at one point: on the question of sex.<sup>13</sup> Otherwise O'Neill is a Christian in the Nietzschean sense of the word. One segment of O'Neill's work, however, is devoted to problems arising out of the Puritan attitude to sex; it comprises the three plays: *The Great God Brown*, *Lazarus Laughed* and *Mourning Becomes Electra*. In all three O'Neill uses the mask as a symbol for Puritan repression; it is an artificial attempt to conceal our real nature which approves the sex instinct as the purest manifestation of the creative impulse. O'Neill first

<sup>13</sup> For O'Neill's relation to Nietzsche, see Sophus Keith Winther: *Eugene O'Neill, A Critical Study*. New York 1934, passim.—The term "Puritan" is used by O'Neill himself in the loose sense of "puritanical."

treats the Heine-Nietzsche theme fully in *The Great God Brown*. Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch, in his introduction to the Modern Library edition of O'Neill's plays, complains that this is the most puzzling of all O'Neill's dramas. But there is really little about it that is obscure. It depicts the pagan-Christian conflict on the problem of sex. Pure paganism is embodied in Cybel or Cybele, Mother Earth, who is also nature, instinct, naive sex without consciousness of guilt. She loves life for its own sake, does not exploit it for some "higher" end. Her panacea for the sufferings of modern humanity is the same as Lawrence's. "I'd like to run out naked into the street" she says, "and love the whole mob to death like I was bringing you a new brand of dope that'd make you forget everything that ever was for good!"<sup>14</sup> But Puritan bourgeois society is ridden by a guilt complex, which seeks liberation from its own crimes in a scapegoat and always finds one in the Dionysian pagan, who lives in innocent sensuality.<sup>15</sup>

Cybel's direct antagonist is the successful business man Billy Brown, a literary half-cousin of Thomas Mann's Hans Hansen; a spiritual fraud, who gains his successes by exploiting the genius of his life-long friend Dion Anthony. Brown not only steals Anthony's brains, but kills his friend and marries the latter's wife, trying to pass himself off as Anthony the Dionysian genius. Brown is at first an out and out philistine, a veritable pillar of bourgeois respectability, especially in matters of sex. But the sex instinct, which is the instinct of life itself, refuses to be thwarted, even by a Puritan. And so the great god Brown pays his regular visits to Cybel the prostitute. "Das Christentum gab dem Eros Gift zu trinken; er starb zwar nicht daran, aber entartete, zum Laster." Gradually, in his years of association with Dion Anthony, he gains insight into the superiority of the pagan ideal and tries himself to become a pagan. But it is only on his deathbed that he realizes the basic principle of life that makes pagan happiness possible, and it is Cybele who teaches it to him.

Brown. What's the prayer you taught me—Our Father—?

Cybel. Our Father who art!

Brown. Who art! Who art! I know! I have found Him! I hear Him speak! "Blessed are they that weep, for they shall laugh!" Only he that

<sup>14</sup> *Nine Plays* (Modern Library), p. 337.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372.



has wept can laugh! The laughter of Heaven sows earth with a rain of tears, and out of Earth's transfigured birth-pain the laughter of Man returns to bless and play again in innumerable dancing gales of flame upon the knees of God. (He dies)<sup>16</sup>

What is the end of life, according to O'Neill? Not success, not material happiness, but the acceptance of life in its entirety as desirable: Nietzsche's Dionysian *Weltanschauung*.

Between these two protagonists of opposing philosophies stands the higher type of modern man, represented by Dion Anthony. In Anthony's soul there is a perpetual conflict between pagan acceptance of life and Christian masochism (the term is O'Neill's), the whole struggle resulting in exhaustion and frustration. Dion's life is ruined by the Puritan society in which he lives, whose negative ideals have so deeply permeated his being, that his creative spirit is stifled. It seeks vengeance on society through cynicism and Satanism. As Dion himself says: "When Pan was forbidden the light and warmth of the sun, he grew sensitive and self-conscious and proud and revengeful and became the Prince of Darkness."<sup>17</sup>

In the light of this interpretation, the meaning of O'Neill's next play—*Lazarus Laughed*—becomes clear. The theme is once more the pagan joy in life, in the whole of life, in conflict with the Christian denial of existence on this earth. The play forms a striking parallel to Lawrence's story *The Man Who Died*. Lazarus, brought back to life after spending four days in the tomb, has overcome the fear of death which rules all men and which lies at the root of all asceticism. There is no death, Lazarus now proclaims, only life; no sorrow, only laughter. And his laughter is so infectious that it converts everyone who hears it, even the most corrupt and degenerate Romans; but only temporarily, as long as Lazarus is there. For no one really believes in his pagan laughter, neither the Puritanical Jews, nor the degenerate Romans, least of all the immediate followers of Christ. Only the Greek throng in Athens recognizes Lazarus for what he is: the god Dionysos risen again.

In *Mourning Becomes Electra* O'Neill once more comes to grips with the pagan-Christian conflict. That, it seems to me, is the new content which he has poured into the old Greek myth. Those who

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

see in the trilogy nothing but a restatement of the old Greek theme in psychoanalytic terms are mistaken. The psychoanalysis is merely a modern vehicle for carrying the theme: so much is true. But the tragic conflict itself is the attempt of Christine Mannon and her two children, Lavinia and Orin, to shake off the Puritan, Christian, Mannon inheritance. The Mannons all have mask-like faces, O'Neill tells us in the stage directions; we know what that means in O'Neill: the mask is used by the Puritan to conceal his natural instincts, especially as regards sex. These natural instincts would like to affirm life as desirable; but the Puritan is afraid of life and seeks death even in life. "Why are you talking of death?" Christine asks her husband Ezra Mannon. He replies: "That's always been the Mannons' way of thinking. They went to the white meeting-house on Sabbaths and meditated on death. Life was a dying. Being born was starting to die. Death was being born."<sup>18</sup>

The series of catastrophes which stalk the House of Mannon are caused by repeated attempts to thwart the natural expression of the sex instinct. As the mask is the symbol of Puritan repression, so there is a symbol for pagan joy: the blessed isles in the South Seas, whose natives live in a state of original innocence, because they have never heard that love is a sin. These isles are mentioned repeatedly in the trilogy; those members of the family who wish to shake off the Mannon inheritance dream of life on the blessed isles: Adam Brant, Christine, Orin, and even Lavinia in her later metamorphosis.

Pagan joy in life, as manifested in the free expression of sex; Christian hostility to life, as expressed in the suppression of sex; the revenge which the sex instinct takes on the Puritan Christian by degrading sex into vile lust — that is the triad of ideas which Lawrence, O'Neill and other modern writers have taken over from German thought, through Nietzsche.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 738.

## KEATS'S "O FOR A LIFE OF SENSATIONS . . . !"

Except for the "Beauty is truth . . ." verses in the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, no words that Keats wrote have been more provocative than his fervent ejaculation in 1817: "O for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts!"<sup>1</sup> That the words meant much to Keats no one will deny; they summed up his aesthetic creed at the time. But unfortunately there is little certainty as to what the words mean. Critics in general fall into three groups: those who are puzzled or noncommittal; those who regret or deplore; and those who revise in order to clarify or (as it sometimes seems) to purify.

It is not often, in these times, that Keats's words are linked with B. R. Haydon's story of the poet's painting his tongue and throat with cayenne pepper in order to enjoy the "delicious coldness of claret in all its glory."<sup>2</sup> Few give credence to this story today,<sup>3</sup> but the interpretation that many critics now assign to Keats's exclamation suggests that there is an earnest desire to rescue the poet from the imputation of an excessive sensuousness. Though Matthew Arnold frankly admitted that "a life of sensations" meant the "sole dominion of sense," he persuaded himself that Keats overcame this weakness and developed a non-sensuous, "intellectual and spiritual" love of beauty.<sup>4</sup> Others have glossed "sensations" in a way that eliminates all reference to sense-activity. Keats did not mean what he wrote, they contend; he meant "intuitive perceptions of the higher nature" (A. E. Hancock),<sup>5</sup> "intuitions of the mind and spirit" (Sidney Colvin),<sup>6</sup> "intuition" (Ernest de Sélincourt),<sup>7</sup> "intuitions of the mind" (C. D. Thorpe),<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter 31, p. 68, *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. by M. B. Forman (New York, 1935). Subsequent references assume this edition.

<sup>2</sup> See Sidney Colvin, *John Keats* (New York, 1917), pp. 379-80.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Arnold saw a direct relation between Haydon's story and Keats's exclamation, however. See his *Essays in Criticism*, Second Series (London, 1898), pp. 100-101.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> *John Keats: A Literary Biography* (Boston, 1908), p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> *The Poems of John Keats*, 6th ed. (London, 1935), p. xxxviii.

<sup>8</sup> *The Mind of John Keats* (New York, 1926), p. 12. Thorpe does not actually offer a definition of his own, but he quotes Hancock, Colvin, and De Sélincourt approvingly.

"instinctive impulses" and "intuitions" (J. M. Murry),<sup>9</sup> "intuitions" as opposed to "concepts" (Lascelles Abercrombie),<sup>10</sup> "individual, isolated intuitions" (C. L. Finney),<sup>11</sup> and so on. The most recent book on Keats (Werner Beyer, *Keats and the Daemon King*, New York, 1947) strongly reaffirms these definitions, and exalts Keats's "intuitions" to the empyrean:

. . . [Keats's] yearning '*O for a life of Sensations rather than [of] Thoughts*' has nothing whatever to do with the sensory delight of popular misconception . . . Rather, it is the . . . life of transcendental visions, or super-rational intuitions, of divine love, beauty, and truth . . .<sup>12</sup>

Despite "swiche pleyn accord" of critical judgment, it is hard to believe that Keats would have written "sensations" if what he meant was "intuitions." To be sure, the immediate context of the ejaculation includes a distinction (far from lucid) between "the truth of imagination" and the truth of "consecutive reasoning." But any other support for the gloss of "intuitions" can scarcely be found, whereas some rather impressive, even definitive, evidence exists on the other side.

This evidence is not to be found in Letter 31. Important as this letter is, it presents too many difficulties and ramifications to explore adequately in this space,<sup>13</sup> and it is therefore fortunate that the evidence called for can be presented from other sources and at less length.<sup>14</sup>

If the glossing of "sensations" as "intuitions" faithfully represents Keats's meaning, it seems reasonable to assume that he may have used the word in a similar sense on other occasions, especially when discussing matters aesthetic.<sup>15</sup> Yet no one, so far as I am

<sup>9</sup> *Keats and Shakespeare* (London, 1925), p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> "The Second Version of *Hyperion*," *The John Keats Memorial Volume* (London, 1921), p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> *The Evolution of Keats's Poetry*, I, 243.

<sup>12</sup> P. 125, repeated on p. 143. The second "of" is omitted in Beyer's quotation.

<sup>13</sup> "What the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth" is but one of several enigmatic and obscure statements in the letter.

<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere I have given detailed scrutiny to this letter (in a forthcoming book, *Keats's Prefigurative Imagination: A Study of the Identification of "Beauty" and "Truth" in his Writings*).

<sup>15</sup> His peculiar use of the word "abstract" (= concrete, imaginative), for example, is frequently recurrent, and indicates a habit of usage. This has been recognized by Thorpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36, and Finney, *op. cit.*, II, 454.

aware, has ever sought to find out how he used the word on other occasions. Being curious, I have made a list of all occurrences of the word in Keats's writings (the Concordance gives but one instance in the poetry). To reduce space I omit all but the immediate context, assuming that the full context is readily accessible to all.

1. What time you were before the music [piano] sitting,  
And the rich notes to each *sensation* fitting.<sup>16</sup>
2. . . . I now hear the voice [of the sea] most audibly while pleasing  
myself in the idea of your *sensations*. (42)<sup>17</sup>
3. . . . I wish I had a heart always open to such *sensations* [his sensibility of a friend's kindness] . . . (55)
4. O for a recourse somewhat human independent of the great consolations of religion and undepraved *sensations*—of the beautiful—the poetical in all things . . . (60)
5. . . . O for a life of *sensations* rather than of thoughts!
6. The difference of high *sensations* with and without knowledge . . . (140)
7. What a thing would be a history of her life and *sensations*. (174)
8. The genius of poetry . . . cannot be matured by law and precept, but by *sensation* and watchfulness . . . (223)
9. I like her . . . because one has no *sensations*—what we both are is taken for granted . . . (233)
10. No *sensation* is created by greatness but by the number of orders a man has at his button holes . . . (234)
11. . . . he could not rid himself of the *sensation* even in the dark hold of the ship . . . (248)
12. With what *sensation* do you read Fielding? (258)
13. I went the other day into an ironmonger's shop—without any change in my *sensations* . . . (285)
14. My passions are all asleep from my having slumbered till nearly eleven and weakened the animal fiber all over me to a delightful *sensation* about three degrees on this side of faintness . . . (315)
15. In those two miles he [Coleridge] broached a thousand things . . . nightingales, poetry—on poetical *sensation*—metaphysics—different genera and species of dreams . . . (324)
16. For instance suppose a rose to have *sensation* . . . (335)
17. . . . as a relief to myself from a too lax *sensation* of life . . . (372)
18. I have indeed scarcely anything else to say, leading so monotonous a life, except I was to give you a history of *sensations*, and day-nightmares. (374)
19. . . . to be able to bear unhurt the shock of extreme thought and *sensation* . . . (*Ibid.*)

<sup>16</sup> *Epistle to Charles Cowden Clarke*, l. 114.

<sup>17</sup> Figures in parentheses give the page references in M. B. Forman's edition of the letters.



20. . . . Miltonic verse can not be written but in an artful or rather artist's humour. I wish to give myself up to other *sensations* . . . (384)
21. I had another strange *sensation* there was not one house I felt any pleasure to call at. (400)
22. . . . [*Lamia*] must take hold of people in some way—give either pleasant or unpleasant *sensation*. What they want is a *sensation* of some sort. (402)
24. I think it [*The Eve of St. Mark*] will give you the *sensation* of walking about an old country town in a coolish evening. (414)
25. Miltonic verse cannot be written but in the vein of art—I wish to devote myself to another *sensation*— (425)
26. I have a *sensation* at the present moment as though I was dissolving . . . (436)
27. Either that gloom overspread me or I was suffering under some passionate feeling, or if I turn'd to versify that acerbated the poison of either *sensation*. (465)
28. I shall endeavour to go though it be with the *sensation* of marching up against a battery. (508)
29. I would go to — and make some inquiries after you, if I could with any bearable *sensation* . . . (514)
30. I should have delighted in setting off for London for the *sensation* merely . . . (520)
31. . . . the difference of my *sensations* with respect to Miss Brawne and my sister is amazing. (*Ibid.*)
32. . . . those depraved *sensations* which the want of any education excites in many. (521, note—a conversation of Keats with Severn, as reported by the latter to Lord Houghton)

Study of the contexts of these thirty-two instances of the word "sensations" in Keats's writings leads to the following inferences: (1) With the possible exception of "poetical sensation" (one of the topics of Coleridge's ambulatory monologue), Keats's habits of usage appear to be consistent; there are variations in nuance, but not in the central meaning. (2) In general the meaning seems to be something like this: the characteristic feelings or emotions arising in some particular circumstance (whether in actual life or in aesthetic experience, and whether pleasing or unpleasing). Reference to the *NED* shows that this meaning was normal in Keats's time, as it is today. (3) Unless Keats was departing radically from his habitual usage in Letter 31, the meaning seems to be approximately the same there (the reference being specifically to aesthetic, and of course pleasurable, sensations). (4) Of the thirty-two instances of the word, there is not a single demonstrable reference to "intuitional" processes or apprehensions.

It might still be contended, of course, on grounds however

dubious, that "O for a life of sensations . . ." is a kind of "soleyn fenix of Arabye." In anticipation of such a rejoinder, it may be well to offer additional evidence. If we desire examples of Keats's predilection for aesthetic "sensations," we have not far to seek; *Endymion*, *Isabella*, *Lamia*, *The Eve of St. Agnes*, the Francesca sonnet, the "Bright star" sonnet, "I stood tip-toe . . ." (which Keats described as "a posey of luxuries"—27-28), and several other poems are clearly compounded of "sensations" rather than of "thoughts."

To be enamoured of "sensations" is in fact a normal sign of mental growth, as Keats explained in his celebrated "simile of human life": life is, he wrote, like a "mansion of many apartments," the first of which is "the infant or *thoughtless* chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think"; the second chamber is that of "maiden-thought," wherein "we see *nothing but pleasant wonders* . . ."<sup>18</sup> While we luxuriate amid the "pleasant wonders," the "thinking principle" gradually awakens within us; but prior to this awakening, as Keats says, "we do not think." His words should not be taken too literally, of course, but it is hardly possible to contend that the "pleasant wonders" (= "sensations"?) which he found so enchanting were actually "intuitions" in disguise.<sup>19</sup>

There is still more probative evidence, however. A revealing statement on aesthetic "sensations" occurs in a letter addressed to the same correspondent (Benjamin Bailey) as Letter 31, and preceding Letter 31 by less than three weeks:

O for a recourse somewhat human independent of the great consolations of religion and *undepraved sensations*—of the beautiful—the poetical in all things—O for a remedy against such wrongs within the pale of the world! <sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> P. 143. The italics are mine.

<sup>19</sup> To what extent Keats's thought in Letter 31 and Letter 64 (the "simile of human life") may have been tinged with the so called "sensational" or "associationist" psychology of the day, it would not be easy to determine. For example, there appears to be some resemblance between his "life of sensations," and "the language of the sense" and the "sensations sweet" which Wordsworth praised so fervently in *Tintern Abbey* (108, 27). And Keats's "simile of human life" reminds one of the first (or perhaps the first two) of "the three ages of man" described in Wordsworth's poem. But there is no evidence that the younger poet conceived of mental development in the schematic and orthodox manner of the associationists. See, nevertheless, J. R. Caldwell, *John Keats' Fancy* (Ithaca, 1945), especially Chap. II, and Arthur Beatty, *William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations*, rev. ed. (Madison, 1927).

<sup>20</sup> P. 60.

If the syntax is a bit confusing here, it is because Keats adds two appositives to his second "consolation": that is, "undepraved sensations" = [the enjoyment of] "the beautiful" = [the enjoyment of] "the poetical in all things." In other words Keats is searching for a humanistic justification of suffering not dependent on either religion or aesthetic enjoyment. Judging by the adjective "undepraved" which qualifies "sensations," Keats evidently felt it needful to persuade his firm-minded, theological correspondent that the enjoyment of beauty (especially in poetry) was not an immoral self-indulgence. When however in his very next letter to Bailey (Letter 31), Keats sought to champion, this time more ardently, "a life of sensations rather than of thoughts," he had no need to repeat the defensive adjective "undepraved," because: (1) his correspondent could be trusted to connect the two passages on aesthetic "sensations," and (2) Keats was now so confident of the value of the "life of sensations" that he was no longer on the defensive.

Let us suppose, once more, that what he actually meant was not "sensations" but "intuitions." Since in both letters to Bailey "sensations" appears to have the same referent, the adjective "undepraved" ought to fit as well into one letter as the other. But to call "intuitions" "undepraved" would be, obviously, both redundant and motiveless. And if "undepraved" is incompatible with "intuitions," it is doubly incompatible with the gloss proposed in 1947, viz.: "transcendental visions, or super-rational intuitions, of divine love, beauty, and truth . . ."

To clinch the point even further, we can turn to a context which defines "depraved sensations." These are exploited, according to Keats, by Byron in his mocking account of the shipwreck in *Don Juan*: "Byron's perverted education makes him assume to feel, and try to impart to others, those *depraved sensations* which the want of any education inspires in many."<sup>20</sup> Thus "depraved sensations" are not proper aesthetic sensations, in Keats's estimate, but "perverted," non-genuine, perhaps even immoral. "Undepraved sensations," on the other hand, are the very substance—and precious reward—of the aesthetic life.

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<sup>21</sup> See M. B. Forman, *op. cit.*, note to Letter 238, p. 521.

SHAKESPEARE'S WORD-PLAY ON *TOMBE*

*Tombe* as it occurs in Shakespeare's Sonnet 83 appears to be a deliberate pun and as such provides a climax for a small history of some associations attached to the word in Shakespeare's usage.

Both in Sonnets and in plays Shakespeare exhibited an interest in the peculiar relationships of meaning set up by juxtaposing *tomb*<sup>1</sup> and two of the very small group of words with which he rimes it. Twice in the Sonnets<sup>2</sup> and at least twice in the plays<sup>3</sup> the rime of *tomb* with *womb* assists in suggesting the obvious but provocative contrast between the receptacle from which man comes into this world and that to which he goes.<sup>4</sup> Twice in the Sonnets<sup>5</sup> and at least once in the plays<sup>6</sup> the rime of *tomb* with *dumb* reinforces the suggestion of the permanent silence that normally characterizes the ponderous and marble jaws of the final receptacle.

These overtones of *tomb* are as obvious today, perhaps, as when they were written. But a shift in vowel pronunciation has so nearly obliterated the evidence of another set of associations, originally too obvious for comment, that it has recently been overlooked. One kind of Shakespearean pun is the consequence of Shakespeare's interest in the relationships of meaning set up by juxtaposing two words which, having roughly the same sound, can be pronounced as one. The word with which Shakespeare punned *tomb* was that which we spell *tome*, meaning a book, often a large, heavy, formidable book.

<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to make too much of a point on the matter of spelling, but it seems convenient to employ *tombe* only when there is some question of equivocation in the word.

<sup>2</sup> 3. 7 and 86. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *H6A* iv v 34 and *R & J* ii iii 9.

<sup>4</sup> Shakespeare was by no means the first to perceive and make use of this phonetic accident. The rime occurs, for instance, in the popular and pathetic elegy which Chidiock Tichborne was supposed to have "Written with His Own Hand in the Tower Before his Execution: "

I sought my death and found it in my womb,  
I looked for life and saw it was a shade,  
I trod the earth and knew it was my tomb.

<sup>5</sup> 83. 12 and 101. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *All's Well* ii iii 147; see also *M Ado* v iii 9.

For eye-reading, the pun presents no difficulty when we bear in mind that both *tomb* and *tome* could be spelled *tombe* in the seventeenth century; *tombe* is, actually, the only spelling in the Quarto edition of the Sonnets for the word which modern editors spell *tomb*.

Furthermore, the history of spelling outside the Sonnets confirms the probability that *tomb* and *tome* were readily capable of that type of mental interchange upon which puns thrive. The intrusion of the *b* in seventeenth-century spellings of the word meaning *book* can most readily be accounted for on the grounds that *tome* was subjected to the phonetic and orthographic influence of such words as *lamb*, *limb*, *womb*, and *tomb*, especially the last of these. The confusion operated also, however, in the other direction: Davies<sup>7</sup> records a sixteenth-century spelling *tome* for the word meaning *sepulchre*. We are led to the not surprising conclusion that it has been from time to time quite possible to achieve ambiguity in the written form of either word. That such ambiguity did actually produce a misunderstanding may be illustrated by an accident that occurred to a poem of John Donne's. The third stanza of his "Valediction: Of the Book" runs thus:

This book as long-lived as the elements  
Or as the world's form, this all-graved tome  
In cypher writ or new made idiom  
(We for Love's clergy only're instruments)  
When this book is made thus,  
Should again the ravenous  
Vandals and Goths inundate us,  
Learning were safe; in this our universe  
Schools might learn sciences, spheres music, angels verse.

In the 1669 edition *tome* appeared *tomb*, but was corrected in subsequent editions. Whether Donne was turning to his own uses the pun of Shakespeare is beside our point at the moment;<sup>8</sup> what is of moment to us is that such confusions in spelling not only confirm the mental interchangeability which is one element of a pun but also point to a phonetic similarity.

<sup>7</sup> *English Pronunciation from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> Two further passages in Donne offer the teasing possibility that this poet was also toying with the ambiguous overtone suggestions in *tomb*. These are the fourth stanza of "The Canonization" and the third stanza of "To the Countess of Bedford."

That strong phonetic similarity between the words did exist is a conclusion which the other available evidence supports. Since we have ample evidence and sufficient authorities<sup>9</sup> to establish the probability that in Shakespeare's time *tomb* was pronounced much as it is today, [tūm], it becomes pertinent to inquire what was probably Shakespeare's pronunciation of *tome*. Since Shakespeare does not use it outside the passages we are concerned with, and since there appears to be no direct testimony to any sixteenth or seventeenth century pronunciation of this word, and since it was introduced from French into English too late to fall into any of the patterns of sound-change out of Middle English, we must draw inferences from the words with which it may be logically linked.

In the first place, as we have noticed, it appears to have become linked in spelling and hence probably in pronunciation with a riming set of common words such as *womb* and *tomb*. If this was so, we must account for its modern pronunciation on the not unlikely ground that, being a relatively bookish word, it came readily within the hegemony of eighteenth-century classical scholars who were happy to restore it to "correctness."

A somewhat similar phonetic history can actually be traced in the word *Rome*. In Elizabethan England *Rome*, following the prevailing phonetic trend, was generally pronounced like Modern English *room*. So it was in Shakespeare<sup>10</sup> and so it was when Spenser rimed it with our word *tomb*.<sup>11</sup> Wyld offers a reason for the triumph of the modern pronunciation: "The present pronunciation of *Rome*, instead of the historically normal [rūm], is comparatively recent and is due to the influence of the French or Italian pronunciation, perhaps also to the spelling."<sup>12</sup>

There is one further piece of evidence pointing to [tūm] as a probable Shakespearean pronunciation of *tome*. In 1617 one Robert

<sup>9</sup> See, for instance, the following:

Ellis, A. J., "Shakespeare's Puns," in *Early English Pronunciation*, Part III, Chap. VIII, p. 102, p. 925.

Zachrisson, R. E., *The English Pronunciation at Shakespeare's Time*, p. 197.

Wyld, H. C., *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, p. 234.

<sup>10</sup> *KJ* III i 180; *JC* I ii 156; *RL* 715 and 1644.

<sup>11</sup> "Ruins of Rome," v 7. It is to be observed that Shakespeare once appears to recognize the pronunciation which subsequently prevailed; in *H6C* III i 51 he hangs a pun between *Rome* and *room*.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 239.



Robinson, a Londoner, published a small treatise called *The Art of Pronunciation*, containing a phonetic alphabet and a Latin poem transcribed in the alphabet. This treatise was examined with care by Professor H. G. Fiedler in the Annual Bulletin of the Modern Humanities Research Association in November, 1936. "Robinson," as Professor Fiedler says, "transcribes as *û* every Latin stressed long *ô*." If we can accept Robinson as a reliable recorder of vowel sounds, we can approach the word *tome* from two directions. (1) if the vowel had been attracted into conformity with native English words which had originally been pronounced [ô], the pronunciation was [tûm]; (2) if the vowel was given a pronunciation like that of Latin words with long *ô*, the pronunciation was [tûm]. *Tome* apparently had come into English from French at the beginning of the sixteenth century, so that there is a gap in our syllogism. But the weight of such evidence as we have makes it most likely that [tûm] was the usual pronunciation of the word *tome* at the time the sonnets were composed.

Granted that the external evidence is permissive rather than conclusive, let it be supposed that to Shakespeare's ear *tome* and *tomb* were sounded enough alike for purposes of a pun.

If the pun between *tome* and *tomb* was to be witty and effective, the flavor of *tome* had to be approximately what it is today. This was the case. By 1573 the word had come to signify the whole of a book, frequently a large volume. *NED* records a title with that date: "The whole works of . . . Tyndal . . . Frith, and Barnes . . . collected and compiled in one Tome together." By 1621 the ponderous tome was also formidable, forbidding, perhaps seldom opened: Burton in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* was asking, "To what end are such great tomes?" Shakespeare's Sonnets were composed somewhere between these two dates.

The form *tombe* occurs five times in the Sonnets (in 3, 17, 83, 86, and 101), and *tombs* occurs once (in 107). Assuming that these particular sonnets were written chronologically in this order, it appears that Shakespeare first used the word simply to designate a sepulchre, that when he next used it he probably perceived a pun whose secondary meaning was *tome*, and that when he used it a third time he planned the pun with all its deliberate, subtle venom. In the next two instances thereafter, he so used the word that the punning associations are interesting if brought to mind—

but they are not insisted upon. In the final instance he undertook to eliminate equivocation from the word, to restore it to singleness of meaning.

Let us examine the series, disregarding Sonnet 3, which does not pun on our word. The heavy-footed exposition we shall use will be at least as offensive as such treatments of wit necessarily are. No apology, however, is made for pointing out that in all five of the sonnets we are concerned with, the subject matter in hand was the future fame conferrable by writings in praise of a man. This is an area of interest in which talk of books may reasonably be expected.

The first quatrain of Sonnet 17 runs thus:

Who will believe my verse in time to come,  
If it were fill'd with your most high deserts?  
Though yet, heaven knows, it is but as a tombe  
Which hides your life and shows not half your parts.

Here we may unhesitatingly agree with all the editors in recognizing that Shakespeare likened the poetry in question to a tomb. Still there is noticeable at first blush some slight awkwardness in the image of a tomb which hides life; tombs are designed to hide death. Doubtless Shakespeare had in mind the writing on a tomb; an epitaph could very appropriately be blamed if it hid the dead man's life and showed too few of his accomplishments. But if a tomb is considered as a piece of writing then its essential function is the same as that of a tome. Shakespeare apparently recognized and may possibly even have planned this implication of his use of the word.

The poet who speaks in Sonnets 82 and 83 comments upon the other writers who dedicate their works to his own particular patron and implies that by "blessing every book" the patron encourages the writers in this practice. In Sonnet 83 he asserts that he has himself avoided the portraiture of praise, knowing that praise is incapable of matching the original. The last quatrain runs thus:

This silence for my sin you did impute,  
Which shall be most my glory, being dumb;  
For I impair not beauty being mute,  
When others would give life and bring a tombe.

The unkind pun in the last line is here too pointed to be accidental. It asserts (but not unequivocally) that the rival who brings his book confers oblivion instead of the intended immortality. This

barb, which might well have been envied by Dryden and Pope, is part of a complex and beautifully conceived design. The design calls into play echoes well outside the limits of the individual sonnet; yet even in the sentence which it caps there is a most adroit interplay of images and ideas. The tome impairs beauty as a tomb impairs beauty; the tomb is mute in a sense in which Shakespeare is not mute, and the tome is loquacious where Shakespeare holds his peace. Hence the tome is loquacious but uncommunicative, and death-dealing instead of immortalizing.

The first quatrain of Sonnet 86 is familiar indeed:

Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,  
Bound for the prize of all too precious you,  
That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inhearse,  
Making their tombe the womb wherein they grew?

Here we have so clear and conventional an image of still-born thoughts that the suggestion that the appropriate housing of ripe thoughts is not their author's brain but a book is neither insisted upon nor necessary to good sense. Yet recognition that *tombe* incidentally spelled *book* by no means hurts the effectiveness of the quatrain. On the contrary such recognition gives a new twist to the well-worn womb—tomb irony.

In Sonnet 101 Shakespeare's poet rebukes his muse for neglecting his "love." The muse is made to bring up the customary excuse that truth needs no painting. The poet makes his rejoinder:

Because he needs no praise, wilt thou be dumb?  
Excuse not silence so, for 't lies in thee  
To make him much outlive a gilded tombe  
And to be praised of ages yet to be.

Here again the sense is comfortably full without the play on *tome*. That "gilded *tomb*" is the primary meaning is clear from its parallel in Sonnet 55:

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments  
Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme.

Yet if when Sonnet 101 was written, *tombe* had been, as we suppose, already twice or thrice used equivocally within memory, it is hard to believe that Shakespeare was innocent of *double entendre* now. "Gilded tome" would make excellent sense in this context, signifying a book whose special merit was decorative embellish-

ment. The poet, then, may be supposed to assure his muse that it was in the power of her unembellished song to make the patron outlive such a prettified volume. If he did indeed incidentally sneer at a rival's gilded tome Shakespeare had prepared his way: by mention of books and by repeated mention of painting and color as symbols of verbal flattery<sup>13</sup> as well as by his pointed puns on *tombe*.

Finally, the last four lines in Sonnet 107:

I'll live in this poor rhyme,  
While he [death] insults o'er dull and speechless tribes:  
And thou in this shalt find thy monument,  
When tyrants' crests and tombes of brass are spent.

The word *this* in line 13 repeats "this poor rhyme" and is set in contrast with "tyrants' crests and tombs of brass." Since *tombe* has been quibbled over repeatedly, the quibble is apt to recur with every recurrence of the word unless specifically disclaimed. In the last line of Sonnet 107 the *tombs* are emphatically not books; and the phrase "of brass" serves as a disclaimer.<sup>14</sup>

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### MELVILLE'S THIRD WHALER

Herman Melville's last whaling cruise, from Eimeo in the Society Islands to Lahaina on the Island of Maui, Sandwich Island Group, was in the *Charles and Henry*, a Nantucket ship, of 336 tons burthen, belonging to Charles G. and Henry Coffin. The ship, under the command of Captain John B. Coleman, came to anchor in the roadstead of Lahaina on April 27, 1843.

On a date between that of the arrival of the *Charles and Henry* and May 10 when she sailed, probably on May 3, Captain Coleman appeared before John Stetson, United States Vice Commercial Agent at Lahaina, and discharged Herman Melville, John Wallace, and Joseph Whiting. Wallace was a sick man, and a sum of money

<sup>13</sup> See for instance Sonnets 82 and 83, referred to above.

<sup>14</sup> Of course that disclaimer, with a right inflection of the voice, might well reach back to line 13 and make "this" signify "this tome," "this book of sonnets" as well as "this rhyme."

was deposited on his account as a "destitute seaman," but Melville and Whiting were evidently regularly discharged by consent of themselves and Captain Coleman.

Melville stayed at Lahaina until May 18 or shortly thereafter, when he and nineteen other whaling men, seventeen of whom were destitute seamen, were transported to Oahu, probably in the schooner *Star*, under the command of a Captain Burroughs.

These significant facts in Melville's whaling career, now brought to light for the first time, are documented by letters in a loose folder, "Miscellaneous Letters, 1838-1843," and by other papers of the Honolulu Post Records Collection, General Records, Executive and Foreign Affairs Branch, of the National Archives.<sup>1</sup>

The most important document of this group for the Melville student is a letter, dated May 18, 1843, from John Stetson, United States Vice Commercial Agent at Lahaina, to William Hooper, Vice Commercial Agent at Oahu, which contains the following information:

I send by this vessel [evidently the schooner *Star*, Captain Burroughs]<sup>2</sup> . . . John Wallace, dischd from Ship Charles & Henry [and sixteen other destitute seamen]. . . . Also 3 men that were discharged at this Office, not however on my hands,—their names are Herman Mellvil [*sic*], Joseph Whiting, dischd from Ship Ch<sup>s</sup> & Henry & Francis Sarsfield, dischd from Barque Damon[.]

It is, indeed, fortunate that this the official letter, bearing seal and outside address, has survived. For there is another version of this letter, in the same handwriting, which is misleading in the extreme.<sup>3</sup> This version, surviving in a ledger, which is clearly either a careless first draft of the official letter or a hastily written, erroneous office copy, contains a significant difference in wording: "... Herman Mellvil, Jos Whiting & Francis Sarsfield dis[charged] from Barque Damon."

It is impossible to substantiate Melville's connection with the ship *Charles and Henry* by checking the Captain's crew list of the 1840-1845 voyage or the consular certificates appended thereto, for

<sup>1</sup> I should like to thank Mrs. Natalia Summers and Miss Julia Bland for considerable assistance in the discovery of these materials.

<sup>2</sup> Hooper had written Stetson on May 8, 1843, that he had "requested Capt Burroughs of the Sch<sup>r</sup> *Star* to receive on board any seaman which may be on your hands."

<sup>3</sup> In "Lahaina, Records, Protests, Letters, etc., 1842-1855, No. 7625."

almost all Nantucket custom house records have been destroyed.<sup>4</sup> It can be proved, however, that Herman Melville and Joseph Whiting did not serve in the barque *Damon* of Newport, Rhode Island, and were not discharged from that vessel at Lahaina.

Complete custom house records of the 1842-1846 voyage of the *Damon*, under the command of Captain Oliver Potter, are extant. They contain no mention of Herman Melville or Joseph Whiting. The name of Francis Sarsfield, however, is recorded on the official crew list carried on the voyage, and it appears on the only certificate of discharge issued by John Stetson to Captain Potter in May, 1843.<sup>5</sup>

If Melville could not have served in the barque *Damon*, what is the case for his connection with the *Charles and Henry* besides the mention of his name in Stetson's official letter of May 18, 1843? Apparently it is a good one. For one thing, the *Charles and Henry* visited the Society Islands at a time when Melville is known to have been there.<sup>6</sup> She was reported at Tahiti on November 7, 1842,<sup>7</sup> and at Eimeo during the same month.<sup>8</sup> Captain Coleman, upon his

<sup>4</sup> According to Edouard A. Stackpole, President of the Nantucket Historical Society, in conversation with the writer, the Nantucket Custom House was closed during Woodrow Wilson's first administration, and all records were transferred to the Boston Custom House where they were stored in the basement. Later they were damaged by water, and most of them sold as waste paper. Many ships registers from Nantucket, however, have survived and are now in the National Archives.

<sup>5</sup> I am obliged to Walter Dring, Jr., Deputy Collector of Customs, Newport, Rhode Island, for photostatic copies of relevant custom house and consular papers of the *Damon*, including a certificate signed by John Stetson at Lahaina on May 25, 1843, which discharged only one seaman from the *Damon*—Francis Sarsfield. This was the only certificate issued to Captain Potter in May, 1843. ("Consular Statement of Fees, Lahaina," in Consular Letters, Honolulu, Volume I.)

Since the *Damon* was not cleared for sailing until October 18, 1842 (Newport *Mercury* of October 22, 1842), and gave as her most recent port of call before reaching Lahaina that of Callao (Consular Letters, Honolulu, Volume I) where she anchored March 17, 1843 (Ship's Daily Journal, Callao, in National Archives), it seems unlikely that she touched at the Society Islands at all.

<sup>6</sup> See Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1930), pp. 284-323, and Ida Leeson, "The Mutiny on the *Lucy Ann*," *PQ*, xix (October, 1940), 370-379.

<sup>7</sup> Nantucket *Inquirer* of May 6, 1843.

<sup>8</sup> "John Howland reported Chas. and Henry at Emeo [*sic*] with 350 bbls.,



arrival at Lahaina, gave "Emeo" [sic] as the place last touched at by the *Charles and Henry*.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, Joseph Whiting was at Eimeo shortly before the time of arrival of the *Charles and Henry*, having deserted from the Nantucket ship *John Adams* on October 16, 1842,<sup>10</sup> and he could have joined the crew of the *Charles and Henry* at approximately the same time that Melville did.

Finally, the facts of the voyage of the *Charles and Henry* correspond to those attributed to the "Leviathan" in *Omoo*,<sup>11</sup> Melville's most nearly autobiographical novel.<sup>12</sup> The actual whaler, like her fictional counterpart, was a "luckless ship in the fishery."<sup>13</sup> When the *Charles and Henry* arrived at Eimeo, she had taken only 350 barrels of sperm oil during a twenty-three months' voyage,<sup>14</sup> no more than the *Acushnet* had stowed down during the first six months of her maiden voyage.<sup>15</sup>

That Melville might well have shouted, "So, hurrah for the coast of Japan!"<sup>16</sup> upon joining the crew of the *Charles and Henry* is attested by the fact that although the ship did not head immediately for that whaling ground, it was her destination after recruiting at Lahaina in late April and early May of 1843.<sup>17</sup> But for his leaving the vessel at Lahaina, stove boats off the coast of Japan might have been for Herman Melville an actual rather than a vicarious experience.

23 mos. out." (Nantucket *Inquirer* of May 13, 1843.) The *Charles and Henry* had sailed on December 20, 1840. (Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale-Fishery from Its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876*, [Waltham, Mass., 1878] pp. 366-367.)

<sup>9</sup> "Consular Returns, Lahaina," in Consular Letters, Department of State, Honolulu, Volume I, in National Archives.

<sup>10</sup> Consular Papers, Tahiti, in National Archives.

<sup>11</sup> I should like to thank Jay Leyda, who first suggested the possibility that the *Charles and Henry* might have been Melville's third whaler, for considerable assistance.

<sup>12</sup> After an exhaustive study of *Omoo*, Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 199, came to this conclusion.

<sup>13</sup> *Omoo*, p. 371. (Constable and Company, London, 1922.)

<sup>14</sup> Nantucket *Inquirer* of May 13, 1843.

<sup>15</sup> The *Acushnet* was spoken on July 4, 1841, by the ship *William Wirt* of Fairhaven and reported a take of 350 barrels of sperm oil. (Logbook of *William Wirt* in Baker Library, Harvard University.)

<sup>16</sup> *Omoo*, p. 371.

<sup>17</sup> Nantucket *Inquirer* of October 2, 1843.

The *Charles and Henry* came to anchor at Lahaina on April 27, 1843, with 500 barrels of sperm oil aboard.<sup>18</sup> John Wallace, a sick member of the crew, was discharged on May 3,<sup>19</sup> and since only one certificate was issued to Captain Coleman during this recruiting period,<sup>20</sup> it is reasonable to assume that it was an inclusive one and contained the names of Joseph Whiting and Herman Melville.<sup>21</sup>

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### THE TROUBADOURS AND THE ASSASSINS

The Old Man of the Mountain and his Assassins appear as ornaments in at least five Provençal poems. Evidently, this colorful, already half-legendary cult had made a considerable impression on the troubadours. Evidently, also, their public could understand the allusions without explanation, for none is given. The uses these poets made of the romantic Sheikh-el-Jebel and his followers<sup>1</sup> practically exhaust the possibilities of connecting them with love and lovers.

One of the most explicit comparisons is in the poem *Pos descobrir ni retraire* of Aimeric de Peguilhan. The author says to his Lady: "You have me more fully in your power than the Old Man his Assassins, who go to kill his mortal enemies, even if they were beyond France":

Car mieills m'avetz ses doptanssa,  
Qe-l Vieills l'Asasina gen,

<sup>18</sup> "Consular Returns, Lahaina, January 1—July 1, 1843," in Consular Letters, Department of State, Honolulu, Volume I. The *Charles and Henry* evidently reached the roadstead of Lahaina on April 26, 1843. (See Nantucket *Inquirer* of October 2, 1843.)

<sup>19</sup> "Statement of Cases of Relief Afforded to destitute American seaman . . . , Lahaina," in Consular Letters, Department of State, Honolulu, Volume I.

<sup>20</sup> "Consular Statement of Fees Received at Lahaina . . . ," in Consular Letters, Department of State, Honolulu, Volume I.

<sup>21</sup> The background and facts of the 1840-1845 voyage of the *Charles and Henry* are subjects of a more extended study by the present writer.

<sup>1</sup> For a recent account of them, and numerous references, see Charles E. Nowell, "The Old Man of the Mountain," in *Speculum*, XXII, 497-519.

Qu'il vant, neis s'eron part Franssa,  
 Tant li son obedien,  
 Aucir sos gerriers mortals.<sup>2</sup>

The Lady here is the Old Man; the poet is the Assassin, who will do whatever his Lady commands. This blind obedience with complete disregard for consequences was a distinguishing characteristic of the sect.

Making a very similar application of the theme, Bernart de Bondeilh declares: "Just as the Assassins serve their master unflinchingly, so I have served Love with unswerving loyalty":

Tot aissi·m pren con fai als assesis,  
 Qe fan tot so qe lurs senhors lur di,  
 Qe no·n pensan failhir ser ni mati,  
 Tant lo crezon e tant ll'es chascus fis;  
 E le seinhers, qar conois certamen  
 Qe chascus fai de grat son mandamen,  
 Fa·ls comensar tal re, segon q'aug dir,  
 Don prendon mort, ans q'o puescan complir.

Tot eissamen hai ieu estat aclis  
 E fins e francs vas amor, so·us afl.<sup>3</sup>

Here Love, not the Lady, is the Old Man whom the poet serves as an Assassin. It should be noted also that there is no specific reference to murder; the Old Man's assignments might be difficult tasks of many kinds.

With the same unspecialized conception of the Assassin's duties, an anonymous poet says to his Lady in the love letter or *domnejaire*

<sup>2</sup> Poem 10, 42 according to the numbering of Pillet-Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle, 1933, p. 14. These are lines 28-32. Neither this nor the other poem of Aimeric which we shall have occasion to cite has appeared in a critical edition, though Mr. W. P. Shepard and I have been working for some time on a complete edition of Aimeric. The text given here for both poems is that of A (Pillet-Carstens, p. x), as it appears in the diplomatic edition of Pakscher and De Lollis, in *Studj di filologia romanza*, III, nos. 391 and 397 respectively. It would probably be preferable here to read *s'era* for *s'eron* in line 30, although the majority of the MSS have the plural form; in any case, the basic idea of the comparison is not affected.

<sup>3</sup> Pillet-Carstens, 59, 1; edited by Appel in *Provenzalische Inedita aus Pariser Handschriften*, Leipzig, 1892 (Altfranzösische Bibliothek, XVIII), pp. 22-24.

beginning *Bona dompna, pros ez onrada*:<sup>4</sup> "I am your Assassin, who hopes to win Paradise through doing your commands":

Lo vostre verais ancessis,  
Que cre conquestar paradis  
Per far toz vestres mandamens . . .

Here we have an implied explanation of the unfailing obedience of the Assassins to the Old Man of the Mountain: their belief that this obedience guaranteed their entry into Heaven. Such a motivation the contemporaries of the crusades and the *chansons de geste* could easily understand.

Of the three examples cited so far, two make no mention at all of murder as a function of the Assassins. The third (that from Aimeric de Peguilhan) does indeed give murder as their chief duty; but the detailed allusion makes it very clear that the word "Assassin" was not for Aimeric a common noun meaning "murderer." It could hardly have been only that for an audience of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, when the Old Man was still powerful (there were, of course, several "Old Men"), and his followers were well known and greatly feared. The word inevitably had a very specific reference to this sect, and its application to any other killer constituted a recognizable figure of speech. Later, to be sure, the transition to a generic term was made in several languages, and a verb coined, and so on; but only later, and as a result of this early figurative use. I insist on this point here because in the two examples that remain to be cited the reader, if unforwarned, might make the mistake of assuming that the word was as colorless then as it is now.

The first example is another from Aimeric de Peguilhan. We have already seen him compare himself to an Assassin and his Lady to the Old Man of the Mountain. Here, he likens his heart to an Assassin, since it kills him for his Lady's sake:

Mas faich avetz ansessi  
Mon cor que per vos m'auci.<sup>5</sup>

Knowing as we do that the poet must have had the sect in mind

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Suchier in *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, Halle, 1883, I, 311 ff.; lines 9-11.

<sup>5</sup> Pillet-Carstens, no. 10, 24 (*Eissamen cum l'azimans*); these are lines 13-14. For the text followed, see note 2.

when he wrote these lines, we are justified in taking *per vos* to mean that here also the Lady is the Old Man of the Mountain, who sends the Assassin.

And, finally, we have this from Giraut de Bornelh: "My Lady's love (i. e., my love for her) is an Assassin, which kills me":

Ren als no·lh sai comtar  
Mas que s'amors m'auci.  
Ai, plus mal assesi  
Noca·m saup envirar.<sup>6</sup>

The editor, Kolsen, translates *assesi* "Mörder"; but I have already expressed my doubt that the word could have become so colorless in Giraut's day. We must, I think, interpret the lines to mean that the Lady is the Old Man, and love is the Assassin whom she sends against the poet. Kolsen: "Ach, einen schlimmeren Mörder konnte ich mir gar nicht ausersehen." This seems to miss the point completely; my own feeling is that we should read *enviar* (the reading of nearly all the MSS) for *envirar*, and in any case understand the subject of *saup* to be "she," not "I." For, taking this as a reference to the Old Man and his Assassins (and I think we must take it so), I find it unlikely that the poet would call himself the Old Man who "selects" or "sends" an Assassin (love) against himself.

In citing these examples, I have not tried to follow a chronological order; because it seemed advisable to put the most convincing ones first, and also because the dates of the poems cannot be fixed with any certainty. It would be desirable, however, to date them as accurately as we can. Here are the known facts: Aimeric de Peguilhan seems to have written between 1195 and 1230,<sup>7</sup> Giraut de Bornelh between 1165 and 1200.<sup>8</sup> Kolsen<sup>9</sup> dates the poem we quote "vielleicht 1169." Bernart de Bondeilh has not been dated, though in this, his one preserved poem, he refers to a Marquis of Carret, who is probably, as the editor identifies him, Otto del

<sup>6</sup> Kolsen, *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh*, Halle, 1910-1935, I, 306 (no. 48, lines 73-76). The reading and translation are not sure for the word *envirar*, but there is no difficulty with the rest.

<sup>7</sup> See Jeanroy, *Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, Paris, 1934, I, 331.

<sup>8</sup> Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, I, 384.

<sup>9</sup> In his edition, II, 285, with a reference to his *Giraut de Bornelh, der Meister der Trobadors*, Berlin, 1894, p. 61.

Carret (1180-1230), celebrated by a number of troubadours. This would make Bernart a contemporary of Aimeric. The editor of the anonymous love letter suggests that it may be the work of Aimeric de Peguilhan. But his hypothesis is based chiefly on this comparison of the poet and his lady to an Assassin and the Old Man of the Mountain; so it is far from conclusive. Still, we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that both these undated poems belong to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, as their language and style have nothing to imply either a very late or a very early date. Even Giraut's poem may be considerably later than Kolsen puts it (he says "vielleicht"); nothing in the poem itself seems to make a later date impossible, since all the datable persons referred to in it were alive at the end of the century (Dalfin d'Alvernha, 1169-1234; "Sobre-totz" or Raimon Bernart de Rovinhan, alive in 1197; it is not known when Eble de Saigna died, if indeed the *Eblon* of the poem refers to him) according to Kolsen's own listings in the *Eigennamen*. It is therefore not impossible that all these poems were written within a comparatively short space of time.

Where did the poets get their knowledge of the Assassins and the Old Man, and their interest in them? Oral reports from returning crusaders are a possible source. And the Latin historians of the day (e. g., William of Tyre) give various details about the sect; so does the *Chanson d'Antioche*, as revised by Graindor de Douai at the end of the twelfth century. The history of William of Tyre was translated into French (as the *Estoire d'Eracles*) around 1200, and became very popular in that form. All these, then, are possible sources.

But there is another, which seems to me even more likely. Toward the end of the twelfth century, there was in France quite a commotion about the Assassins. In 1192, Philip Augustus let it be known that he suspected Richard the Lion-Heart of having induced the Old Man of the Mountain to send some of the Assassins to France for the purpose of murdering him (Philip), and he redoubled his personal guard. This is recorded by several historians,<sup>10</sup> and undoubtedly tickled the popular fancy. One thing that makes me connect it with these Provençal poems is the phrase used

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, the *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, edited by Delaborde, Paris, 1882-85; I, 120-121, 195.



by Aimeric de Peguilhan: "his Assassins, who go *even beyond France* to kill his enemies." This is at least an indication that there had been talk of the presence of Assassins in western Europe, and may well refer to this rumor. The love letter and the poem of Bernart de Bondeilh, as we have seen, may or may not have been written at the same time as Aimeric's songs; and we have seen that Giraut's poem could conceivably have been written then also. My own feeling, which is of course only a guess, is that all five poems were written shortly before or shortly after 1200, when the scare over the Assassins sent to kill the King was still fresh in the minds of the populace.<sup>11</sup>

I have already mentioned two references in French to the Assassins, in works of a historical nature. The examples given by Godefroy and Tobler-Lommatzsch in their dictionaries of Old French (and I have found no others) seem to be no earlier than the thirteenth century, and are for the most part factual references or colorless uses of the word *assassin* (in the later texts) as an equivalent for "murderer." The one case where a poet has used the fanaticism of the sect to illustrate the power of the Lady over the lover is the following:

Ma dame cui je n'o nomeir,  
 Mon cuer aveis, no·u puix celler;  
 Belle plaixans et coie,  
 Por vos sui je jolis;  
 Partir ne m'an poroie:  
 Vostre hons suix essescis.<sup>12</sup>

The last line could be translated "I am your Assassin liege-man." The poet wishes to imply, I presume, that he is as faithful to the lady as the Assassins to the Old Man of the Mountain. I do not know that this poem can be dated, but it was evidently written under Provençal influence.

<sup>11</sup> The two poems of Aimeric can be dated before 1212, since they are addressed to Spanish rulers, and in 1212 Aimeric was in Italy, never, as far as we know, to return to Spain. We derive this date from the fact that Aimeric composed two *planhs* for Azzo VI of Este, who died in 1212.

<sup>12</sup> From the Oxford *chansonier* (MS Douce 308), fol. 228b; published in Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. 99, p. 352, no. 48. I have quoted the complete stanza, and nothing that precedes or follows amplifies the allusion. The punctuation and the interpretation that it implies are mine, as only a bare diplomatic text is given in the *Archiv*. I take *n'o* to mean "I do not dare."

I do not know if the simile occurs in other literatures; I have not found it anywhere else. And, indeed, I should be surprised to find it except possibly in a poem imitated from the troubadours, for it illustrates admirably the extravagant cult of the Lady that began and came to fullest flowering with them.<sup>1a</sup>

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### RABELAIS AND THE GREEK DANCES

Although nearly every phase of Rabelais' rich erudition has been thoroughly explored, the investigation of musical ideas in *Gargantua and Pantagruel* is a field practically untouched. The sources of many such ideas are fairly obvious; others are more difficult to explain. Among the latter is the list of Greek dances performed at the court of Quint Essence by the Queen and her attendants:

. . . revoquans l'antiquité en usage, ils jouerent ensemble aux

Cordace,	Calabrisme,
Emmelie,	Molossique,
Sicinnie,	Cernophore,
Iambicque,	Mongas,
Persique,	Thermanstrie,
Phrygie,	Florale,
Nicatisme,	Pyrrhique,
Thracie,	Et mille autres danses. <sup>1</sup>

What prompted Rabelais—and we assume that he was largely responsible for the *Fifth Book*—to cite these particular dances in this particular order?

The more one studies Rabelais' writings, the more one comes to believe that the long enumerations which so delighted the jovial *médecin* were never a haphazard matter but were organized according to some plan, the logic of which was perhaps owing to the plan of an earlier "authority." It has been a rewarding task, then,

<sup>1a</sup> I am grateful to Professor Grace Frank for valuable suggestions in connection with this article. The author presented the substance of this paper at a meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, December, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Cinquiesme Livre*, ed. Jean Plattard (Paris, 1929), p. 72.

to find realization of this in tracing the list of dances to its source: Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, Book XIV, 629, d and e. The whole of this book is an informal discussion of various aspects of music, including a lengthy section on the dance. After treating the dance in general, Athenaeus lists specific dances according to category. Those of a stable nature, simple, and performed in close formation, he says, are the following:

δάκτυλοι, ιαμβική, Μολοσσική ἐμμέλεια,  
κόρδαξ, σίκιννις, Περσική, Φρύγιος νιβατισμός,  
Θράκιος κολαβρισμός, τελεσιάς.

Wild and furious are the *κερνοφόρος καὶ μογγὰς καὶ θερμανστρίς*. A dance with antiphonal singing (question and answer, roses and violets) is the *ἄνθεμα* (Flowers). And Athenaeus concludes a list of ludicrous dances with the word *πυρρίχη*—evidently an error, for the *Pyrrhichê* is consistently described by ancient writers as a war dance, so even by Athenaeus in preceding and subsequent paragraphs (629 c and 630 d).

All fifteen of Rabelais' dances, thus, appear in this passage. Three adjectives in the Greek quotation, however (*Molossikê*, *Phrygios*, and *Thrakios*), become nouns in the French; and several words show errors in transliteration (*Nicastisme* for *Nibatismos*, *Calabrisme* for *Kolabrismos*, and *Thermanstrie* for *Thermaustris*).<sup>2</sup>

The *mille autres danses* which the Queen and her court performed were suggested, doubtlessly, by the numerous other dances included in Athenaeus' discussion (629, e and f; 640 and 631). Transliterated, these are as follows: <sup>3</sup> drunken dances—the *Ionikê*, *Angelikê* (Messenger), *Kosmou ekpyrôsis* (World conflagration); ludicrous dances—*Igdîs* (Mortar pounding), *Maktrismos*, *Apokinos*, *Sobas*, *Morphasmos*, *Glauz* (Owl), *Leôn* (Lion), *Alphitôn ekchusis* (Pouring out the barley), *Chreôn apokopê* (Cancelling the debt), *Stoicheia*, and *Pyrrichê*; *aulos*-accompanied dances—*Keleustou* (Boatswain's dance) and *Pinakida* (Platter dance); figure-dances—*Xiphismos* (Sword dance), *Kalathiskos* (Basket dance), *Kalla-*

<sup>2</sup> It would be interesting to compare the MS of the *Fifth Book* with Athenaeus' list. According to the *variorum* edition of Burgaud des Marets and Rathery (Paris, 1873), "Leur ordre [that of the dances] est différent dans le manuscrit." See v, 407, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Miss Mary McCrimmon for checking the Greek words in this passage.

*bides* (Hip dance), *Skôps* (Owl), *Skôpeuma* (Owling); and a final (unclassified) group—*Thermaustris*, *Hekaterides*, *Skopos* (Look-out), *Cheir kataprênês* (Flat hand down), *Cheir simê*, *Dipodismos* (Two-step), *Xylou paralêpsis* (Grabbing the wood), *Epankônismos* (Cushion dance), *Kalathiskos* (Basket dance), *Strobilos* (Spinning top). Athenaeus follows these with the *Telesias* (Telesiad), a war dance, and the *Sikinnis* or satyr dance. A whole paragraph is devoted to the *Pyrrichê*, among the Spartans a preparatory drill for war and “in our times” Dionysiac in character, danced to high-pitched melodies. The *Gymnopaïdikê* (Naked boy) finds its counterpart in the *Anapalê* (Wrestling) with its variations *Ôschophorikoi* (Vine dance) and *Bacchikoi* (Bacchic), all belonging to the cult of Dionysus. A choral dance sung by the performers is the *Hyporchêmatikê*, and the “best varieties of lyric poetry are those which are danced: prosodiac, apostolic, and the like.”<sup>4</sup> Concluding his discussion, Athenaeus compares several of the Greek dances with their counterparts “among the barbarians.”

In attempting to reconstruct the reasoning process which led Rabelais to choose the specific dances enumerated by him, one notices, first of all, that the kingdom of Quint Essence (whose very name is *Entelechie*) is thoroughly ancient in tone, filled with writers and philosophers of antiquity as well as a few “modern” humanists—Budé, Lascaris, Scaliger, and others. The retinue of the Queen’s ministers, all bearing Hebrew titles, emphasizes humanistic learning, as well as ideas dramatized at the court—healing the sick with music, for example, a practical application of Greek ideas of musical *ethos*. Consistent with this atmosphere, then, are ancient Greek dances for the entertainment of the court after dining—a Greek tradition in itself—rather than contemporaneous French dances (which are introduced under quite different circumstances elsewhere in the *Fifth Book*).

Rabelaisian enumerations, it seems, tend to place the most important and best known items first. So in the two groups of fifty-nine musicians in the New Prologue to the *Fourth Book* the most distinguished composers of the so-called Netherlandish Schools head the lists, with lesser *musici* following. Of the Greek dances, the first three are ones which were universally known and discussed

<sup>4</sup> *Deipnosophists*, tr. Charles B. Gulick (Cambridge and London, 1927-1941), VI, 407.


in ancient writings and which appear sometimes in literature of the 16th century. Athenaeus mentions and characterizes the *Cordax*, *Emmeleia*, and *Sikinnis* elsewhere in his *Deipnosophistae* (for example, Book I, 20). Lucian (second century A. D.), to mention only one other writer of late antiquity, discusses these in his treatise, *The Dance*, describing their origin from Dionysian rites and relating them to the drama which grew from these rites: the *Emmeleia* was the tragic dance, the *Cordax* comic, and the *Sikinnis* characteristic of the satyr play. These dances probably owed their survival to their association with the drama. That they were known in Rabelais' century is witnessed by Jehan Tabourot whose book on the dance (1588) incorporates a conversation about them.<sup>5</sup> Capriole, the earnest young *discipulus* in Tabourot's dialogue, says that in his reading of ancient authors he has come upon three kinds of dances: "one grave, called the *Emmeleia*; one, gay, which they name the *Cordax*, and one other, partaking of both gravity and gaiety, called the *Sikinnis*." To this Arbeau, the learned dancing master and musician, replies:

Regarding ancient dances, I can say only that either the passing of time or the idleness of man, or the difficulty of describing them, has resulted in their being lost. . . . It is true that we can compare the *Emmeleia* to our *Pavanes* and *Basses-Dances*, the *Cordax* to *Gaillardes*, *Tordions*, *Voltes*, *Courantes*, *Gavottes*, *Branles de Champagne* and *de Bourgogne*, *Branles Gais* and *Branles Coupés*; the *Sikinnis* to *Branles Doubles* and *Branles Simples*. . . .

Significant here is the fact that although Tabourot admitted his lack of knowledge about these now lost dances, he nonetheless emphasized the emotional idea characteristic of each dance in comparing each one with French dances of a similar nature—the *Emmeleia* to slow and solemn dances, the *Cordax* to fast dances involving twists and leaps, and the *Sikinnis* to the more stately of the various *Branles*. Rabelais himself mentions the *Cordax* later in the *Fifth Book* (chap. XXXIX) when he describes Silenus followed by a crowd "de jeunes gens champestres . . . toujours chantans et dansans les cordaces."

After beginning with the best known of the ancient dances, Rabelais in his list cites five *verbatim* from Athenaeus' list, framing them with two others (also found in Athenaeus) whose names ob-

<sup>5</sup> Jehan Tabourot (Thoinot Arbeau), *Orchesography* (Langres, 1588), tr. Cyril W. Beaumont (London, 1925), p. 21.

viously derived from poetic meters—the *Iambic* and *Molossic*. (Rabelais omitted the *Daktyloi*, first in Athenaeus' list, and the *Telesias*, last in this group). Four more dances appear in Athenaeus' order, and the list ends with a dance frequently mentioned in the literature of antiquity—the warlike *Pyrrichê*. Xenophon (fourth century B. C.) tells of seeing a woman equipped with a light buckler perform the Pyrrhic Dance (*Anabasis*, vi, 1); Lucian in *The Dance* tells that its inventor was the son of Achilles, a youth famed for his dancing; and Athenaeus devotes a large part of his discussion to this dance, attributing its origin to Spartan military rites and citing several earlier "authorities" on historic performances of it. The *Pyrrhichê* also appears in Tabourot's *Orchésographie*, for the student Capriole, in his reference to ancient writers, concludes with the statement, "They make mention also of the dance called the *Pyrrhic*"; and the *magister* Arbeau, comparing Greek and French dances, relates "the *Pyrrhic* to the dance we call *Bouffons* or *Mattachins*."<sup>6</sup> Later Arbeau describes the *Pyrrhic* as an armed dance performed "with clashing of swords and bucklers, to an air in duple time" and he gives an "Air of the *Bouffons*" characterized by Pyrrhic meter (  ).<sup>7</sup>

The three opening dances and the closing dance in Rabelais' list are, thus, points of reference, known by name, at least, to the cultivated reader. Intermediate dances, far less celebrated if indeed known at all, follow the source in almost exact order, with variations from that order—the insertion of the metrically-named dances—following a definite plan. At first glance, it may seem strange that Rabelais, having named fifteen dances, ends without following the source to its conclusion, for Rabelais was never one to shy away from a lengthy enumeration, lavishly piling fact upon fact, detail upon detail. Athenaeus' account of the dances, however, suggests a reason for this abruptness. The *mille autres danses* were probably so designated because Athenaeus' description shows them to be, for the most part, of a ludicrous, licentious, or drunken nature, obviously unsuited for performance at the dignified court of *Entelechie*, of Quint Essence.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 153 and 157.



"WILD BELLS" IN BAILEY'S *FESTUS*?

On November 12, 1846, Tennyson wrote to Fitzgerald: "I have just got *Festus*; order it and read. You will most likely find it a great bore, but there are really *very grand* things in *Festus*."<sup>1</sup> Since Philip James Bailey's once-famous poem was first published in 1839, one hesitates to infer that Tennyson did not read it before 1846. More probably he has been rereading it in the enlarged second edition of 1845.

One of the "very grand things" may have been the long prayer delivered by Festus, which, though characteristically verbose and turgid, constitutes a complete catalogue of early-Victorian aspirations.<sup>2</sup> We are reminded of "Ring out, wild bells" (*In Memoriam*, CVI) by Festus's words:

The bells of time are ringing changes fast.  
Grant, Lord, that each fresh peal may usher in  
An era of advancement, that each change  
Prove an effectual, lasting, happy gain.

Observe the punning application of the technical phrase "ringing changes" to the idea of beneficent *social* changes. These are not the opening lines of the prayer, but any reader would be inclined to interpret them as its governing metaphor. The exact date of "Ring out, wild bells" is unknown, but its position and function in *In Memoriam* agree well enough with the conjecture that it was written about the time of Tennyson's letter to Fitzgerald.

Tennyson and Bailey desire almost exactly the same "changes."

Ring out the feud of rich and poor,  
Ring in redress to all mankind.

Festus prays for social justice and a stronger sense of mutual obligation between higher and lower classes:

<sup>1</sup> Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (New York, 1898), I, 234. Italics are Tennyson's. The implication is not that *Festus* is mainly tedious, but that Fitzgerald, whose literary tastes were notoriously fastidious and crotchety, would perversely find it so.

<sup>2</sup> Philip James Bailey, *Festus* (London, 1860), pp. 59-66. Bailey does not number acts and scenes, and I know of no edition in which the lines are numbered.

Oh! may all help each other in good things,  
Mentally, morally, and bodily.

He hopes that the development of science and invention may

. . . lighten labour,  
And give more room to mind, and leave the poor  
Some time for self-improvement.

Tennyson bids the bells

Ring out a slowly dying cause,  
And ancient forms of *party strife*;  
Ring in the *nobler modes* of life,  
With sweeter manners, purer laws.

Festus hopes that God will

. . . overrule . . .  
All civil contests to the good of all;  
All *party* and religious difference  
To honourable ends, whether secured  
Or lost; and let all *strife*, political  
Or social, spring from conscientious aims;

and that the common people

. . . may be trained,  
From their youth upwards, in a *nobler mode*,  
To loftier and more liberal ends.

Observe especially the words which I have italicized.

Tennyson:

Ring out the want, the care, the sin,  
The faithless coldness of the times.

The entire *Festus* passage is based on the idea that a stronger, purer faith is prerequisite to all social betterment. For example:

. . . and we pray  
That men may rule themselves in faith in God,  
In charity to each other, and in hope  
Of their own soul's salvation.

Tennyson would have his bells

Ring out false pride in place and blood,  
The civic slander and the spite;  
Ring in the love of truth and right,  
Ring in the common love of good.

This substantially repeats the thought of an earlier stanza which, as we have seen, finds a parallel in *Festus*. The entire Bailey passage is suffused with the spirit of Christian Socialism, as when God is asked to grant that all ranks and callings "May mingle into one," and

. . . that all laws  
And powers of government be based and used  
In good, and for the people's sake.

Tennyson's bells are to "Ring in the thousand years of peace." Similarly Festus prays

That all mankind may make one brotherhood,  
And love and serve each other; that all wars  
And feuds die out of nations.

This section of *In Memoriam* culminates in the lines:

Ring in the valiant man and free,  
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;  
Ring out the darkness of the land,  
Ring in the Christ that is to be.

Here the perfected man of the future seems to be identified with the Christ of Broad Churchmanship. A very similar idea is expressed by Bailey in the aspiration that the people of the world, merged in a social unity,

. . . may so do  
As is most worthy of the next to God;  
For a whole people's souls, each one worth more  
Than a mere world of matter, make combined  
A something godlike—something like to Thee.

And in concluding his intercession Festus prays that

. . . the great world shall be at last  
The mercy-seat of God, the heritage  
Of Christ, and the possession of the Spirit.

One is tempted, then, to regard "Ring out, wild bells" as a condensed and rapid lyrical version of Bailey's long-winded rhetorical treatment of the same theme. But even if the prayer of Festus should be regarded as a parallel rather than a source, it enriches our understanding of the Victorian background of Tennyson's lines.

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CAXTON'S ORIGINAL ADDITIONS TO THE  
*LEGENDA AUREA*

Caxton's monumental edition of the *Legenda Aurea* differs in many respects from the original Latin. In earlier studies I have pointed out the extent to which his version was influenced by the work of his predecessors, an anonymous English translator and a French redactor.<sup>1</sup> On the negative side, as I have shown, Caxton's text is marked by omission, condensation, distortion, and error. On the positive side, it contains some original passages which it is the purpose of this paper to set forth.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the prologue and epilogue, four such expansions have already been recognized by Crotch as original.<sup>3</sup> They may be briefly indicated: In *S. George*, the last paragraph, beginning: "This blessed and holy martyr S. George is patron of this realm of England and the cry of men of war." Caxton here mentions the Order of the Garter and the relic of the saint at Windsor Castle. (III, 133-134)<sup>4</sup> In *David*, the passage telling of the prophet's penance and the composition of the Miserere, beginning, "For as I was once beyond the sea riding in the company of a noble knight named Sir John Capons . . ." and ending, "Thus this nobleman told me, riding between the town of Ghent in Flanders and the town of Brussels in Brabant." (I, 33-34) In *S. Austin*, the anecdote of the child by the seaside, beginning, "Many other miracles hath God showed by his life and also after his death which were overlong to write in this book. . . ." This is the last passage in the chapter. (V, 65-66) In the *Circumcision*, the passage beginning "Also it is said that it is in the church of Our

<sup>1</sup> 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and Varagine's *Legenda Aurea*' *Speculum* XXI (1946) 212-221; 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and De Vignai's *Légende Dorée*' *Mediaeval Studies*, 1946, pp. 97-106; 'Caxton and the Synfulle Wretche' *Traditio* IV (1946) 423-428.

<sup>2</sup> Because I am here concerned with the printer's own composition, I omit reworked and newly-translated material such as the chapters on the Old Testament and the life of S. Rock.

<sup>3</sup> *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* (EETS, 176) 70-76.

<sup>4</sup> F. S. Ellis, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton* (London, 1931). All quotations from Caxton are from this edition.

Lady at Antwerp in Brabant" down to the sentence, "If it be true, to some it seemeth marvel. . . ." (I, 40).

Besides the foregoing, three other passages appear to be Caxton's own additions to the *Legenda*. Two of them contain a significant reference to the writer's visit to Cologne. Since these portions of his *Golden Legend* have not hitherto been attributed to Caxton, I shall give them in full:

1. In *S. Ursula*, after giving Varagine's statement that the martyrdom of the Virgins may have occurred in the reign of Marcian, in the year 452, the printer inserts the following sentences:

It is to be remembered among these eleven thousand virgins were many men, for the pope Cyriacus and other bishops, and Ethereus king, with other lords and knights, had much people to serve them. And as I have been informed in Cologne that there were men besides women that thilke time suffered martyrdom, fifteen thousand. So the number of this holy multitude, as of the holy virgins and men, were twenty-six thousand, to whom let us pray to our Lord that he have mercy on us. (VI, 67) <sup>5</sup>

2. At the end of the *Nativity of Our Lord*, he writes:

This feast of Nativity of our Lord is one of the greatest feasts of all the year, and for to tell all the miracles that our Lord hath showed, it should contain a whole book; but at this time I shall leave and pass over save one thing that I have heard once preached of a worshipful doctor, that what person being in clean life desire on this day a boon of God, as far as it is rightful and good for him, our Lord at the reverence of this blessed high feast of his Nativity will grant it to him. Then let us always make us in clean life at this feast that we may so please him, that after this short life we may come unto his bliss. Amen. (I, 28)

3. To these passages should be added the rather long one at the end of the *Nativity of Our Lady*:

Then let us continually give laud and praising to her as much as we may, and let us say with S. Jerome this response: Sancta et immaculata virginitas. And how this holy response was made, I purpose, under correction, to write here. It is so that I was at Cologne, and heard rehearsed there by a noble doctor that, the holy and devout S. Jerome had a custom to visit the churches at Rome. And so he came into a church where an image of our blessed Lady stood in a chapel by the door as he entered, and passed forthby without any salutation to our Lady, and went forth to every

<sup>5</sup> Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Saints* (New York, 1938), p. 299: 'There is no reason to suppose that Ursula's companions numbered more than a few. Her feast is now treated with considerable reserve in the Roman liturgy and it was a project of Pope Benedict XIV to suppress it altogether, as the Benedictines have done.'

altar and made his prayers to all the saints in the church, each after other, and returned again by the same image without any saluting to her. Then our blessed Lady called him and spake to him by the said image, and demanded of him the cause why he made no salutation to her, seeing that he had done honor and worship to all the other saints of whom the images were in that church. And then S. Jerome kneeled down and said thus: 'Sancta et immaculata virginitas, quibus te laudibus referam nescio. Quia quem celi capere non poterant, tuo gremio contulisti.'<sup>6</sup> Which is to say: Holy and undefiled virginity, I wot never what laud and praisings I shall give to thee. For him that all the heavens might not take ne contain, thou hast borne in thy womb. So sith this holy man thought himself insufficient to give to her laud, then what shall we sinful wretches do but put us wholly in her mercy, acknowledging us insufficient to give to her due laud and praising? But let us meekly beseech her to accept our good intent and will, and that by her merits we may attain after this life to come to her in everlasting life in heaven. Amen. (v, 110-111)

Should not these three examples of Caxton's informal style be included in future reprintings of Crotch's work and in other collections of the writings of the first English printer?

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#### MEDIEVAL CHESS AND THE BOOK OF THE DUCHESS

In a recent issue of this publication, Professor Franklin D. Cooley attempted to explain the terms used in the game of chess played by Chaucer's Man in Black with the goddess Fortune.<sup>1</sup> Its central incident was her capture of his queen by a stealthy maneuver, whereupon he resigned in despair, much as might a modern master after a similar loss. Professor Cooley believes that this was a natural act: that the event was a disaster, and "the medieval game must frequently have ended with the loss of the queen."<sup>2</sup> Yet this was not the belief of Chaucer's Dreamer; the first response of

<sup>6</sup> This is the first responsory after the first lesson in the Common Office for feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary. *Sarum Breviary*, Fasciculus II, col. 298, Servitium Beatae Mariae ab Octavis Epyphaniae usque ad Purificationem.

<sup>1</sup> "Two Notes on the Chess Terms in the *Book of the Duchess*," *MLN* LXIII (January, 1948), 30-35.

<sup>2</sup> P. 31.



his practical intellect was surprise that the Man in Black should have given up prematurely.

In attempting to decide between the two, we must first admit that we know very little about the course of the medieval game. It seems to have developed by collision of forces rather than by attacks at long distance; the openings were rather slow in forming; and a player might win by capturing all the hostile pieces and pawns except the king. But almost everything else, including the proposition that losing the queen was equivalent to losing the game, is little more than inference. Theorists did indeed counsel that the piece be retained to guard the king against checks; but they nowhere stated whether she must thereby become the last piece to be lost before resignation.

In fact, there is clear evidence to the contrary. Only one game has survived nearly complete from medieval times, and there one queen had disappeared five moves before the final mate.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in writings of Arab theorists are many end-game compositions, "which bear every sign of having occurred in play over the board."<sup>4</sup> From them the queen is frequently absent: of the first thirty-six, for instance, one queen is missing in nineteen; both are missing in five; and both remain in only twelve.<sup>5</sup> Now since under the rules then prevailing, they moved only upon diagonals of their own color, they could not have been exchanged for each other; hence those that were not lost through inferior play must have disappeared in exchanges for other pieces or pawns. Far from being conserved until the end, they could be absent from two endings out of three, and still the situation was regarded as playable and the outcome by no means clear unless the opponent played perfectly.

Just how small was the value of the queen in medieval chess is apparent from calculations by teachers of the game. Says the *Einsiedeln Poem* (before 1100): "The Knights and Rooks are the chief fighting forces. When they are taken, the battle soon dies;

<sup>3</sup> Given in part by H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 478 ff. Joseph Mettlich's full account is not available to me.

<sup>4</sup> Murray, p. 276. The Arab game was the same as that played in England and France: see Murray, p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> Murray, pp. 282-284.

they should be carefully guarded." <sup>6</sup> An Arab reckoned a queen as worth slightly more than a bishop, or the king's pawn, or the queen's pawn; but not half so valuable as a rook, and about half a knight. <sup>7</sup> Another advised exchanging her for two marginal pawns—further proof that early exchange was believed advantageous. Still a third, calculating the chances in games at odds, reckoned the rook the hardest piece to dispense with, then the knight, then the queen, which was only a little less expendable than the bishop. <sup>8</sup>

These matters become important because they affect the interpretation of the *Book of the Duchess*. Had the Dreamer believed that loss of the queen was fatal to one's game, he must have been jesting when he made light of it. We shall be far more reasonable if we suppose that actually he regarded it as a minor incident because he knew that almost any experienced player would have continued to play, trusting that his rooks and knights would still win the battle.

In this respect, he was an admirable foil for his fellow-disputant. Chaucer's poem, it should be remembered, is developed, at least in its early stages, by a series of learned equivocations. For although the Man in Black refuses to bare his heart to a stranger, he is too courteous to brush off any one so obviously well-intentioned. <sup>9</sup> He therefore devises the ingenious expedient of telling the truth in such fancy language that it may seem no revelation whatever. He produces in turn a rant, a conventional denunciation of Fortune, and an allegory, all with puzzling effect. Then, won over by the Dreamer's obviously genuine concern for his sorrow, he turns to a high-flown variety of plain speech in his description of meeting Blanche. Here he explains clearly enough why the loss of a queen, to most medieval players a matter of small concern, was to him so

<sup>6</sup> Murray, p. 498.

<sup>7</sup> Murray, p. 227.

<sup>8</sup> Murray, p. 232. Against such opinions, Professor Cooley sets the testimony of one short poem, which in spite of its profession to teach the game, is really an imaginative description, not a practical text. In the *Elegie de Ludo Scachorum* (after 1100), amid other fanciful remarks, is this: "When [the king] loses his wife, there is nothing of any value left on the board" (Murray, p. 516). But Murray believed this work too unreliable to be taken seriously (p. 504).

<sup>9</sup> *Book of the Duchess*, ll. 529 ff.

serious that with the game only half over, he took no further interest, but laid himself open to a deadly check from behind.<sup>10</sup>

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CHAUCER'S *KANKEDORT* [*TROILUS AND CRISEYDE*  
II, 1752]

"Etymology not ascertained."

In annotating his great edition of Chaucer's works, Walter William Skeat devoted some attention to *kankedort* before confessing that his efforts were vain, "nor do we even know how to divide it."<sup>1</sup>

When the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* came to the task of writing up this nonce-word, they threw up their hands on the etymology, no doubt despairing of success where Skeat had failed.

As you can well imagine, I too made a good many futile efforts to solve this little mystery, tinkering with one possibility or another until a better one presented itself, always bearing in mind the standard definition as adopted in F. N. Robinson's edition: "a state of suspense, or difficult position."<sup>2</sup>

Still in the frame of mind described by Skeat, I had about decided to relegate the problem to my inactive files, when a fresh clue was stumbled upon while I was turning the pages of the great encyclopedia by Vincent of Beauvais. Chapter 35 of Book 15 of the *Speculum naturale*, it appeared, was devoted to the meanings of the names of the signs of the zodiac, a topic as irrelevant to my concerns as anything could well be. Still, I looked at it—and there was the clue which is responsible for my taking up your time here, for it seems that the reason that a place in the heavens was called

<sup>10</sup> In *Chaucer and His Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), G. L. Kittredge proposed that the entire conversation was artificially prolonged: that both parties really understood the fact of Blanche's death and its relation to chess, but that each for his own reasons pretended the Dreamer did not. There is nothing in the laws of medieval chess to encourage this interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> *Troilus and Criseyde*, notes, in the *Oxford Chaucer* <sup>2</sup> II (1900), p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> *The Complete works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1933.

*Cancer* [Latin for "crab"] is that just as a crab goes backward, so the sun coming into [the area of] this sign turns its course backward.<sup>3</sup> This medieval notion became firmly fixed, as shown by a similar statement quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* under the date 1859: "Cancer . . . perhaps the Zodiacal sign was so called because the sun begins to return back . . . when it enters this sign, and its retrograde motion may be represented by that of a crab."<sup>4</sup>

Thus my attention was directed to *L. cancer* 'crab,' a loan-word present in ME. as early as 1100, long before the term became applied to the dreaded disease which it calls to our minds, the disease which was named *cancer* because of the supposed resemblance of the dangerous sores to the shape of the crustacean. Now many of the shell-fish, including the crab, have the convenient faculty of moving backward or forward with equal facility and without having to turn about when reversing direction. To medieval—and a few later—men, the sun seemed to do this very thing when in the astronomical "house" of the sign of the crab, about the time of the summer solstice. What actually happens, a colleague in astronomy conveniently informs me, is that the sun does not turn back upon its course, but simply proceeds so much more slowly than when in other "houses" that to the casual observer the illusion of reversal might be possible.

The impression, right or wrong, that the sun turned back when in the sign of the crab, thus appearing to hesitate in a kind of uncertainty, provided enough agreement with the standard definition of *kankedort* to encourage me to proceed to the variant readings recorded in Robert Kilburn Root's great edition of *Troilus and Criseyde*.<sup>5</sup>

It seems that no less than four important MSS. have the reading *kankerdorte*. These seem to bring us comfortably closer to Vincent than does the accepted form *kankedort*, and moreover *kankerdorte* leads one inevitably to think of the familiar Early Modern English *cankered*, "infected with canker," "eaten by a cankerworm."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Speculum naturale* (Duaci 1624) Liber xv. cap. xxxv: . . . "Quantum Cancer, & significat quod sicut Cancer retrocedit, sic Sol ad illud signum veniens cursum suum retroflectit."

<sup>4</sup> OED. s. v. *cancer* sb. 2 b.

<sup>5</sup> Princeton, 1926, p. 140, 458.

<sup>6</sup> OED. s. v. *cankered* ppl. a. 3. No forms are listed within the dates of Chaucer's lifetime.

Sound lexicographical practice is spared an unduly violent wrench if we venture to postulate a Middle English *\*cankered* meaning *crab-like*. If we do this, maybe we know at least what Skeat said he couldn't find out, "how to divide it." Suppose we divide it into *\*cankered* and *ort*.

*Ort* proved easier than it looks at first, for it stands for a word which appears in many if not most of the Germanic or Celtic dialects in one variant or other. Orientation in this detail must not detain us here, space sufficing only to say that the most likely etymon of the *-ort* in *kankedort* as I have settled upon it is Middle Dutch *oord*, *oort*, meaning "place, country, region, quarter."<sup>7</sup>

This word existed for many years in English. The *Oxford Dictionary* cites occurrences appearing from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, and every student of OE. has learned to translate it as that part of a weapon called now the point—a meaning well established in the British Isles for a half-dozen centuries or more. I resort to Holland for the meaning which applies here: place, country, region, quarter.

Chaucer's *kankedort*, var. *kankerdorte*, then, is divided *kankered*, *ort*. The meanings of these two words combine to give us something like "region (or area) where crab-like or uncertain behavior prevails." In the heavens, that region or area where crab-like behavior prevails took on the name of the crab, L. *cancer*, and therefore, my speculation is that this nonce-word interpreted the seemingly vacillating, hesitating or crab-like behavior of the sun during the summer solstice. Thus the feeling of intimidated uncertainty in which Troilus finds himself as Book II closes is fittingly bracketed with the supposedly like situation of the sun in Cancer. Strikingly appropriate it is, you will agree, that the author of *A treatise on the Astrolabe* should use this recondite expression culled once only from the field of astronomy.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Verwijs & Verdam, *Woordenboek der nederlandsche Taal*, XI (1910) s. v.

<sup>8</sup> For Chaucer's discussion of the sun in the sign of cancer, see *A treatise . . .* § 17.

SAUL'S PRIDE (*PURG.* XII. 40-42)

It seems that no sufficient explanation has been given, either by ancient or by modern commentators, for the inclusion of Saul among the examples of *superbia* carved as bas-reliefs into the marble ground of the first girone of the *Purgatorio*. For the reader not familiar with the details of mediaeval interpretation of the Bible, Saul's wickedness seems rather to be envy or a kind of wrathful melancholy than pride (*tristitia* and *ira*, cf. *Inferno* VII and VIII). Jacopo della Lana, the Anonimo Fiorentino, Francesco Buti and Pietro Alighieri give very general and insufficient explanations of his *superbia*, such as "because he fought against David," or "because he did not wish to be captured alive by the Philistines." Benvenuto da Imola and the Ottimo, while recording the whole story of Saul, mention the facts which contain the solution of the problem, but they do not stress them as the important ones.

In Christian ethics *superbia* is linked with the original sin and disobedience to God. By his pride, i. e. by preferring his own will to the order of God, Adam committed the disobedience which caused the fall of man.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the first examples of pride in *Purgatorio* XII and several of the following ones are examples of disobedience to God or contempt of divine power.

This disobedience, caused by pride, was committed by Saul when he acted against the will of God announced to him by Samuel: first by offering the sacrifice before the arrival of Samuel (1 *Sam.* 13, 8-14)—and even more when he spared the life of Agag, the king of Amalec, and saved from destruction the best of the booty, against the express orders of God (1 *Sam.* 15). From that moment God abandons him and confers the kingdom upon another, upon David; from that moment God sends him "the evil spirit" who darkens his life. All commentators, such as Gregory the Great,<sup>2</sup> the Pseudo-Eucherius,<sup>3</sup> Walafrid Strabo<sup>4</sup> and Rupert of Deutz<sup>5</sup> agree

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. Thomas Aq., *Summa theol.* II IIae, quaestio 105, 2, ad 3.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 *Reg. Expositio*, lib. VI, *Patr. Lat.* LXXIX, col. 347-48, 417, 421 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm. in Libr. Regum*, lib. I, *Patr. Lat.* I, col. 1059, 1064.

<sup>4</sup> *Comm. in Libr. Reg.*, In libr. I, *Patr. Lat.* CIX, col. 41 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> *De Trinitate et operibus eius*, In *Reg. libr. I*, cap. XX, *Patr. Lat.* CLXVII, 1088.



in considering these disobediences as *superbia* and as the cause of Saul's misfortunes and his final ruin. They all stress Samuel's words (1 Sam. 15, 17): *Nonne cum parvulus esses in oculis tuis* etc., and Gregory says: *Aperte ergo transgressor per inobedientiam extitit, quia implere verbum Domini per superbiam recusavit*. There are even several comparisons with and allusions to the original sin, e. g. in the commentary of Walafrid Strabo.

I wish to add still another point, which is only an hypothesis; it seems interesting to me because of the general principle involved: a principle rather strange for modern minds, but indispensable for the understanding of mediaeval *figuralism*.

In every example, Dante reports the punishment of pride; therefore, the mentioning of Saul's death needs no explanation, and the last verse, *che poi non sentì pioggia nè rugiada*, may have been added for pure convenience, because Dante needed a verse with the rhyme of *-ada*. But Dante rarely fills gaps of this kind with a meaning that is only atmospherical and not also concrete. I suggest that in the last verse there is an allusion to another example of pride—a much more important one. In many commentaries of David's attitude after Saul's death (2 Sam. 1)—when he orders the death of the man who boasts of having killed Saul, when he laments over Saul's death and curses the mountains of Gilboa—Saul is considered, in spite of his sins, as the Lord's anointed: *quomodo non timuisti mittere manum tuam ut occideres christum Domini*, says David (2 Sam. 1, 14). Therefore, Saul is interpreted as a figure of Christ; his death becomes a prefiguration of the Passion; and the mountains of Gilboa mean the arrogant hearts (*superbia corda*) of the Jews who reject his message: on whom the dew or rain of Divine Grace will never fall and who will never bear the first fruits of the field. I quote the commentary falsely ascribed to Eucherius,<sup>6</sup> which paraphrases a passage from St. Gregory:<sup>7</sup>

Scire enim debes, quia veraciter Saul, qui post unctionem Sancti Chrismatis, a quo et *Christus Domini* vocatus est, occidi meruit, mortem veri Christi, quam sine culpa subire dignatus est, insinuat; montes quoque Gelboe, in quibus interiit, superbos Judaicae plebis conatus, quibus contra auctorem vitae rebellabant, insinuant . . . , propter quod eis merito optatur, ne rorem de coelo pluviamque suscipiant; quod hodie videmus expletum, in eo

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* col. 1080.

<sup>7</sup> *Moralia* IV, In cap. III Iob; *Patr. Lat.* LXXV, 636. Cf. Walafrid Strabo, *loc. cit.* col. 73, and Rupert of Deutz, *loc. cit.* col. 1120.

quod illos gratia coelestis deserens ad plebem gentium translata est. . . . De quibus et benedicitur, ut agri primitiarum esse non possint. Superbae quippe Hebraeorum mentes primitivos fructus non ferunt, quia in Redemptoris adventu ex parte maxima in perfidia remanentes, primordia fidei sequi noluerunt.

The principle involved, which seems strange to modern minds, is the principle of "polysemy" in the figurative interpretation: it very often considers, as in our case, the same person in morally contradictory meanings. The same Saul who has been rejected for his *superbia* appears as *figura Christi*. The Pseudo-Eucherius continues:

Nec tibi absurdum videri debet, ut mala reproborum acta aliquid boni significant, aut rursum bona justorum opera in contraria significatione ponantur. Lege Moralia sancti papae Gregorii . . . , et videbis quia usitatissimum est in Scripturis, ut et bona in malorum significatione accipiantur, et e converso. . . .

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#### THE 'CHEERYBLE BROTHERS: A FURTHER NOTE

A close student of humanity, Dickens peopled his fiction with the Englishmen whom he met on the streets, in the coaches, and at the inns. Whether they were only casual acquaintances or friends of long standing, they might eventually find places in his gallery of pen-portraits, some of them caricatured and pilloried without scruple, others showered with elaborate encomium. To the latter category belong the benevolent Cheerybles of *Nicholas Nickleby*. That the prototypes of these philanthropic brothers were William and Daniel Grant, two prominent Manchester merchants whom Dickens had met in the winter of 1838, has long been accepted.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto, however, no one has commented on two curious misstatements which the novelist made with respect to these brothers nine years after the publication of the work immortalizing them.<sup>2</sup> A consideration of these discrepancies is the purpose of this note.

<sup>1</sup> For a fairly full account of the Grants see *James Nasmyth, Engineer: An Autobiography*, ed. Samuel Smiles (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883), pp. 193-197.

<sup>2</sup> The first edition of *Nicholas Nickleby* appeared in 1839, following the serial publication.

Writing in 1848, when the popular *Nicholas Nickleby* was to appear in another edition, the author declared in the preface:

. . . I believe the application for loans, gifts, and offices of profit, that I have been requested to forward to the original of the Brothers Cheeryble (with whom I never interchanged any communication in my life), would have exhausted the combined patronage of the Lord Chancellors since the accession of the House of Brunswick, and would have broken the Rest of the Bank of England.

The Brothers are now dead.

A careful examination of this quotation reveals two startling inaccuracies. First, it should be remembered that Dickens had met the Grants in 1838. In reality, therefore, the statement "with whom I never interchanged any communication" has no basis in fact, unless the novelist meant that he had not carried on any written correspondence with the brothers. He certainly had conversed with them when he was honored at a dinner in Manchester at which they were present. But even more arresting is the avowal (in 1848) that the "Brothers are now dead." Actually, at this time only one of the pair, William Grant, was deceased. According to the memorial tablets placed in the Manchester Presbyterian Church founded by the brothers, William died February 28, 1842; Daniel, March 12, 1855. Daniel had before him, in 1848, seven more years in which to practice the famous charities which he and his brother had begun.

In the light of Dickens's own prefatory statement concerning the deluge of requests for aid, the reason for this strange misrepresentation of fact is obvious. Already annoyed and embarrassed by the piles of letters which he had been asked to forward to the originals of the Cheerybles, the novelist realized that the new, the so-called "cheap," edition would reach even more readers among the underprivileged. To preclude the possibility of loosing another torrent of mail, "Boz" boldly announced that the Cheerybles were dead, even though one of the brothers was still living. One cannot help wondering whether this misstatement ever came to the attention of Daniel Grant.

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A NOTE ON *THE WINDHOVER*

Professor Samuel C. Chew, in his section "The Nineteenth Century and After" of *A Literary History of England*,<sup>1</sup> has committed an unfortunate error which requires correction. Professor Chew speaks of Hopkins's "ugly device of the 'run-over' rime."<sup>2</sup> He continues, in a footnote,

Thus in *The Windhover*, one of the poems most extravagantly admired, Hopkins uses a "run-over" rime and in the next line a violent stress upon a light syllable, so that the first syllable of "kingdom" rimes with the second syllable of "riding."<sup>3</sup>

If we re-examine "The Windhover," however, we discover that the rhyme scheme is that of a Petrarchan sonnet, *abba abba cdedcd*. I quote the first four lines of the poem:

I caught this morning morning's minion, king-  
dom of daylight's dauphin, dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon, in his riding  
Of the rolling level underneath him steady air, and striding  
High there, how he rung upon the rein of a wimpling wing . . .<sup>4</sup>

Since the Petrarchan rhyme scheme is the only one employed by Hopkins in any of his published sonnets (he sometimes varies the rhyme scheme of the sestet but never that of the octave), and since there exists no sonnet form in English with the sort of rhyme scheme (*aabb*?) which Professor Chew seems to be looking for in "The Windhover," we can only believe that Professor Chew has simply failed to recognize the poem as a sonnet.

It may be hazarded that closer attention to matters of conventional form in the poetry of Hopkins may help remove from that poet the stigma of *lusus naturae*, and help re-establish him within the boundaries of late-Victorian poetic tradition.

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<sup>1</sup> Edited by Albert C. Baugh (New York, 1948).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1537.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (edited by Robert Bridges) (London, 1931), p. 29.

### FURTHER NOTE ON THE THIRTY POINTS OF WOMAN'S BEAUTY

The recent remarks by Professors Allen Gilbert and Archer Taylor<sup>1</sup> concerning the sixteenth century literary convention of enumerating the points of beauty in a woman show the need for complete investigation of the subject. May one not suggest 1) further study of the sources of Ariosto's description of Alcina, 2) a possible connection of the enumeration with the French *blasons* of the sixteenth century, and 3) comparison of Nevizzano's poem with the enumerative poems in classical antiquity?<sup>2</sup>

In none of the collections mentioned by Professor Taylor is to be found the following close imitation of Nevizzano. It is one of the poems inserted by Jacques Gohory into the *Trezieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*. It occurs in Chapter LVI and is entitled "Chanson de la Beauté."

Quiconque veult les trente beautés veoir,  
Pentasilée y sert de vray miroir.  
Blanche est sa chair, ses dents, blonds ses cheveux:  
Ses sourcils noirs, noire chose et les yeux.  
Vermeils la bouche et joue et ongles sont,  
Longs les cheveux et mains et le corps long,  
Le ventre court, courte oreille et dentée:  
Large le front, l'entre-œil et la croisée:  
La chose estroite et bouche et le corsage:  
Levre grossette et la fesse et cuissage:  
Les doigts menuz, le nez, le poil ainsi:  
Le chef petit, le tetin pied aussi.  
La Dame ayant ces trente points en elle  
Dire se peut la parfaitement belle:  
Telle on disoit l'antique Heleine à Troye.  
Qui ne le croit Pentasilée il voye.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *MLN* LXII, 129-130; LXIII, 61.

<sup>2</sup> For example Virgil, *Georgics*, VII, 73-75, "Nec non et pecori est idem delectus equino."

<sup>3</sup> *Trezieme Livre*, Paris, Lucas Breyer, 1571, fol. 334-334 vo.

THE GHOST OF SWIFT IN *FOUR QUARTETS*

The hitherto unidentified ghost that speaks in the second part of "Little Gidding," in T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets*,<sup>1</sup> "will provide the backbone for one hundred American theses," B. Rajan predicts, "and . . . as far as present knowledge can tell is Dante, Mallarmé, and Arnaut Daniel put together."<sup>2</sup> When the American theses are written, however, they will have to identify that ghost with Jonathan Swift. In acknowledging a conscious reference to Swift in nine lines of the ghost's monologue, Mr. Eliot adds that it is a reference which associates Swift with W. B. Yeats:<sup>3</sup>

impotence of rage  
At human folly, and the laceration  
Of laughter at what ceases to amuse.  
And last, the rending pain of re-enactment  
Of all that you have done, and been; the shame  
Of motives late revealed, and the awareness  
Of things ill done and done to others' harm  
Which once you took for exercise of virtue.  
Then fools' approval stings, and honour stains.<sup>4</sup>

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## REVIEWS

*Die geistlichen Prozessionsspiele in Deutschland*, von WOLFGANG F. MICHAEL: Hesperia, Studies in Germanic Philology, Nr. 22. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1947. Pp. 79.

The purpose of Michael's monograph is to discover the origin and to trace the development of all the so-called processional church plays of the late Middle Ages in Germany, for which any considerable amount of contemporary data has been preserved.

Michael's position as regards the origin is diametrically opposed

<sup>1</sup> New York, 1943. 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> "The Unity of the Quartets" in *T. S. Eliot: A Study of His Writings by Several Hands* (ed. B. Rajan), London, 1947. 93.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to the present writer, dated June 27, 1947.

<sup>4</sup> "Little Gidding" in *Four Quartets*, New York, 1943. 35.



to that of Sengpiel (see Michael, *Verzeichnis*, p. 78), who claims that these plays developed out of the procession. Michael, on the other hand, finds the start in the text—"In the beginning was the Word" is his motto. His claim, put very briefly, is that the origin of these plays lies in the simpler forms of the older plays of the Three Kings (Magi). It is based largely upon two documents, one from Milan, dated 1336, for which no text has survived, merely a rather full description, the other from Fribourg, Switzerland. The text of this has been published (1903), but is not readily accessible. It might well have added greatly to the strength of Michael's argument had he included a new edition of this text. For it is a very unusual piece, part (the processional element) in German, based very closely upon the Vulgate version, and part (the actual offering, hymns, reading of the Gospel for the day with divided roles) in Latin. Stranger still, it seems to have formed an integral part of the Mass—"in loco offertorii."

Unfortunately practically nothing seems to be known regarding the conditions under which this very unusual play was given. Even the date is uncertain, nor is anything said about the continuity of the performances. To be sure, mention is made, quite incidentally (p. 18), of later additions—soldiers assigned to the retinue of the Kings, as well as the introduction of an entirely new play, *The Flight into Egypt*. All this, however, without data or accompanying detail. Because of this lack of circumstantial evidence, Michael's inference (p. 17): "*Der Ausgangspunkt des Freiburger Spieles ist ganz deutlich die einfache lateinische Feier mit der dramatischen Verlesung des Evangeliums*"—is not convincing. Even he seems to have felt some doubts, for he adds (p. 19 f.): "*Am Epiphanienspiel, vornehmlich an den zwei Dokumenten aus Mailand und Freiburg i. S., versuchten wir zu zeigen, wie Prozessionsspiele aus der liturgischen Feier entsprossen, wie sie aus dem Wort hervorgingen.*"

But what is a *Prozessionsspiel*? Michael recognizes that processional elements are present in the medieval church drama from its first beginnings, the "*Quem queritis*" scene. This, however, is not enough (p. 5): "*Der Blickpunkt des Zuschauers zum Schauspielers oder Schauspielplatz muss durch die Prozession eine entschiedene Veränderung erfahren. Mit andern Worten ein Umziehen nur auf einem und demselben Schauspielplatz dürfen wir nicht in Betracht ziehen, ebensowenig eine Prozession, die auf dem Raum der Kirche beschränkt bleibt.*" This is drawing the lines rather close. Even Michael admits (p. 18, note 6) that the act of the Three Kings in the Lucerne Passion Play has preserved "*eine gewisse, schwache prozessionale Reminiszenz.*" In all fairness he might have admitted more. For here the Three Kings in gorgeous array, each with a considerable retinue, including a "strange animal" on which is perched a youth bearing the gift, ride into the Weinmarkt, where the play was being given, through three different entrances to the

square. Surely "der Blickpunkt des Zuschauers" underwent "eine entschiedene Veränderung." Also the indications of a long journey have been well met. While no one would call the Passion Play a *Prozessionsspiel*, this and other scenes or acts might well be classified as processional acts.

Indeed, I regard these attempts to classify and place in separate categories the many slightly varying forms of the medieval church drama as unfortunate. Even the old division of the *Osterfeiern* into 1. Stufe, 2. Stufe, 3. Stufe has clouded our picture of the development. And the terms *Osterspiel* and *Passionsspiel* represent a purely modern differentiation. For in 16th century Lucerne the term *Osterspil* was quite as current for the Passion Play as was *Passionsspil*. Personally I believe that Perger (see Michael: *Verzeichnis*, p. 78) was on the right track and that all these plays, which contain processional elements, some more, some less, should be listed under the general term *Bewegungsdrama*.

Actually, however, this, the controversial side, plays but a comparatively small part in the monograph. For Michael's treatment of the development of these pieces I have nothing but words of praise. Here there is much that will be of very definite value to all students of the medieval drama in Germany. Especially the discussion of the *Prophetenspiele*, showing clearly how the dogmatic and epic elements passed over into the Corpus Christi plays, is excellent. This is also the case with his treatment of the so-called *Innsbrucker Frohnleichnamsspiel* with its large influence upon later pieces. Best of all are the two, all too brief, sections which deal with the *Künzelsau* and *Freiburg i. B.* Corpus Christi plays. Both of these are a genuine contribution to our knowledge.

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*Goethe und seine Zeit.* By GEORG LUKÁČZ. Bern: A. Francke A. G. Verlag [1947]. Pp. 207. sf 12.50.

Die sechs Aufsätze, die Professor Lukáčz in diesem Bande zusammengefasst hat und die, mit Ausnahme des einen über Hölderlins *Hyperion*, um Goethe und Schiller kreisen, sind in dem Jahrzehnt zwischen 1930 und 40 entstanden und zum Teil in schwer zu erlangenden Zeitschriften erschienen. Da sie ursprünglich nicht als Ganzes gedacht waren und nicht in zeitlicher Reihenfolge geschrieben sind, muß sich aus ihrem geistigen Zusammenhange der leitende Gesichtspunkt ergeben, der im Vorwort leider nur kurz skizziert ist und aus dem sich erweist, daß Lukáčz von Hegelscher und Marxscher Philosophie ausgeht. Selbst wenn man dieser

Weltanschauung skeptisch gegenübersteht, so ist damit bei einem so ernsten und fein empfindenden Gelehrten kein Grund zu einer prinzipiellen Ablehnung von vornherein gegeben, denn es versteht sich von selbst, daß wir es hier nicht mit einer jener leichtfertigen Arbeiten zu tun haben, die von den Klassikern verlangt, daß sie Marxisten vor Marx gewesen seien. Man wird im Gegenteil von einem so gescheiten Mann mit fester historischer Perspektive neuer und unerwarteter Aufschlüsse gewärtig sein müssen, selbst wenn man hier und da an gewissen Schlagworten und besonders an der undankbar negativen Einstellung verdienten "bürgerlichen" Gelehrten gegenüber Anstoß nimmt.

Lukács verwirft im Vorworte sowohl eine abstrakte prinzipielle Ablehnung deutscher Kultur vom Antifaschismus aus sowie einer unsoziologisch-unpolitischen Wertung derselben und betont, daß sich in Deutschland, im Gegensatz zu Frankreich und England, gesellschaftlicher Fortschritt und nationale Einheitsbewegung im Widerstreit zueinander und zuletzt die zweite auf Kosten der ersten zu einem verspäteten tragischen Kapitalismus entwickelt hätten, der, weil in keiner Proportion zur Stärke des Landes, ein Hauptfaktor der beiden Weltkriege gewesen sei. Es sei nunmehr an der Zeit festzustellen, ob in der von einer reaktionären Literaturforschung mißdeuteten klassischen deutschen Literatur nicht progressive Tendenzen zu finden seien, an die eine Bewegung zur Erneuerung Europas anknüpfen könne.

Fraglos hat Lukács recht, wenn er den aufklärungsfeindlichen deutschen Literaturforschern vorwirft, daß sie durch die Theorie einer Präromantik die deutsche Humanitätsepoche in einen unversöhnlichen Gegensatz zur Aufklärung und zugleich zu einer chauvinistischen Einstellung zur französischen Literatur (statt nur der höfischen) gedeutet haben, welche mit Hilfe der Legende vom Antihistorismus der Aufklärung (die schon Cassirer bekämpft hat) die Linien von der französischen Geschichtsphilosophie über Herder zu Hegel verwischt. Aber auch Goethe sei immer wieder einerseits in schroffen Gegensatz zu den Ideen der französischen Revolution gestellt statt nur zu deren plebejischen Auswüchsen, andererseits in seinem Realismus, "dem Produkt seiner Auffassung der großen Ereignisse seiner Zeit," verkannt worden.

Leider sind die beiden ersten Aufsätze des Buches die am wenigsten überzeugenden. Der *Werther* mit seiner Forderung der Entsprechung von subjektiver Innen- und objektiver Außenwelt, seiner rechtsrevolutionären Nähe zu Justus Möser und endlich seiner Annahme einer physiologischen Bestimmtheit des Menschen (Selbstmordgespräch) ist so voller Widersprüche (die Lukács durchaus anerkennt), daß "eine Weiterführung der Rousseauschen Linie" und Verwandtschaft mit aufklärerischen Idealen sich schließlich auf die Idee der "humanistischen Revolte" beschränken

muß. Klarer kann der Verfasser die Gestaltung der "tragischen Krise der bürgerlichen Humanitätsideale" und den Beginn "ihres vorläufig utopistischen Hinauswachsens über den Rahmen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft" schon im *Wilhelm Meister* nachweisen, in dem freilich die Anerkennung des Wertes einer jeden noch so beschränkten Tätigkeit abhängt von dem schließlich ästhetisch unterbauten Bewußtsein der "idealisierenden Kraft" (Schiller) des Tuenden, mit der er seine Rolle im Ganzen der Gesellschaft erfaßt. — Einen Gipfelpunkt erreicht Lukácz' Darstellung des Ringens der beiden großen Dichter um die "Überwindung der gesellschaftlich-inhaltlichen Problematik der bürgerlichen Gegenwart mit Hilfe der schöpferisch erneuerten antiken Form." Die Antike — und diese Erkenntnis wird so oft übersehen — ist für sie eben nicht das einzelne schöne Individuum, sondern der allseitige tätige Mensch in seiner sozialen Verbundenheit, wie sie die einmalige Gunst der kleinen griechischen Stadtrepubliken ermöglichte. Dies wird besonders in "Schillers Theorie der modernen Literatur" weiter verfolgt, in der neben den "genialen Einblicken Schillers" in den Zusammenhang von Ideal und Wirklichkeit auch die mit seinem überwundenen Kantianismus verbundene Schranke aufgewiesen wird.

Die achzig Seiten umfassenden "Faust-Studien" des Buches sind so reich an neuen Einblicken, so konzentriert in ihrer Interpretation auf Grund der spezifischen Betrachtungsweise des Verfassers, daß ein Eingehen auf Einzelheiten hier unangebracht scheint, selbst wenn ein grundsätzlicher Widerspruch wie bei der Auffassung von der "Sorge" oder von Fausts "Leugnung eines jeden Jenseits" dazu herausfordert. Am wertvollsten scheint mir hier das Herausarbeiten der Doppelheit der Handlung: "Gestaltet wird das Schicksal eines Menschen, und doch ist der Inhalt des Gedichts das Geschick der ganzen Menschheit." Aber auch die Charakterisierung der Einzelgestaltung der Szenen sowie der dramatisch-episch-lyrischen Form des Ganzen, der Dialektik und des Lakonismus der Goethischen Poesie ist oft hervorragend glücklich charakterisiert.

Das verhältnismäßig schlanke Buch gehört auf die Leseliste eines jeden Germanisten. Es bietet keine leichte Lektüre, will in wiederholtem Lesen erarbeitet werden und wird noch lange Zeit Stoff zu Auseinandersetzungen liefern.

Zu bedauern ist, daß, wie bei so vielen deutschen Büchern, ein Index fehlt; scharf zu verurteilen, daß bei allen Zitaten auch die Quellenangabe fehlt, eine Rücksichtslosigkeit gegen den nachprüfenden Leser und den interessierten Forscher.

ERNST FEISE

*Shelley's Major Poetry: The Fabric of a Vision.* By CARLOS BAKER. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1948. 307 pp. \$5.00.

Professor Baker has given us an eminently readable and well-informed book on Shelley. Its clear organization, leisurely development, and simple but often eloquent style do full justice to the subject, which is presented with unflagging earnestness and enthusiasm. Particularly gratifying is the author's general attitude towards Shelley, whom he regards as a poetical phenomenon very much worth understanding, and whom he wastes no time at all either in defending or in censuring.

It is Professor Baker's opinion that only through an orderly, connected study of the major poems can Shelley be properly understood. He therefore proposes to consider each poem as Shelley wrote it, examining its origin, purposes, literary and philosophical antecedents, and its connection with Shelley's other works. Professor Baker emphasizes the complexity of Shelley as poet, philosopher, psychologist, idealist, and reformer, and rightfully insists that from beginning to end Shelley was fundamentally a thinker who strove unremittingly to reach a unified and satisfying view of life. Beginning with the irreconcilable rationalism and idealism of *Queen Mab*, step by step through *Alastor*, *The Revolt of Islam*, *Prometheus Unbound*, and the darker studies of life in *The Cenci*, *The Masque of Anarchy*, and other less important poems, Shelley at length reached, Professor Baker thinks, a fully unified concept of existence in *Epipsychidion*, *Adonais*, and *The Triumph of Life*. The final view, which reconciled permanence and change, and (to some extent) good and evil, was not the happy and confident view of the early Shelley. The ideal of truth, love, and beauty was as glorious as ever; in fact, far more vast and real. But this was the spiritual world, the world of thought; the faith in man's ability to throw off his chains and to share in the eternal was greatly diminished—life did truly triumph over man. There is, however, no cessation of effort in Shelley to make the ideal prevail; for him and the select few no other course of action was possible.

The discussions of the individual poems are always illuminating and persuasive. The book has the singular quality of improving almost constantly, partly because Shelley's poetry improved. This is not altogether the case, however, for the analysis of some of the minor poems is even better than the discussion of some of the great poems. Indeed, one of the genuine contributions of the book is the excellent exposition of *The Masque of Anarchy*, *Peter Bell the Third*, and *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Especially notable also are the very numerous associations of Shelley's poems with his reading, and the literary sources of passages and concepts in Milton, Spenser, Dante, Virgil, Ovid, Aeschylus, and others.



No expositor of Shelley can expect to win complete approval of his interpretations. Though in most fundamental matters Professor Baker will carry his readers with him, he will meet with decided opposition on some particulars. I, for example, consider his view of the maniac in *Julian and Maddalo* questionable; and I regard as altogether wrong his opinion, most ingeniously presented, that *Epipsychidion* is wholly ideal and in no way autobiographical. The very fact that the poem was addressed to Emilia Viviani disproves this. If the poem were altogether ideal and without direct biographical significance, Shelley would not have addressed any particular woman, knowing that to do so was to wound Mary, as the poem certainly did.

For avoiding controversy and concentrating mainly on his own analysis of the poems, Professor Baker must be most heartily commended. Anyone who has a reasonably sound acquaintance with Shelley must, however, be constantly aware that there are various other interpretations of the poems as a whole or in part which find no place in his book. One would have felt more secure about Professor Baker's having given these interpretations some consideration if to each poem he had added a bibliographical note listing these articles and books which he did not choose specifically to bring into his discussion. As a history of the development of Shelley's thought, Professor Baker's book is perhaps weakest in its neglect of Shelley's intimate acquaintance with the philosophers,—Locke, Hume, Berkeley, Spinoza, Plato. In fact, after *Queen Mab* one would think that Shelley forgot philosophic theory and that he thought with almost complete independence. Throughout his life one of the most important problems for Shelley was the origin and validity of knowledge. Here, too, might be mentioned an error (p. 256 n) which Professor Baker must have drawn from Dowden's *Life of Shelley* (II, 413); namely, that Shelley planned to write a poem called *The Creator*. No such poem was ever projected by Shelley. Dowden's error was based on a misinterpretation of a passage in one of Shelley's letters, which appeared to be confirmed by Mary Shelley's letter of June 30, 1821, to Mrs. Gisborne. As printed in *Shelley and Mary* (Dowden's source) Mary's letter reads: "'The Creator' has not yet made himself heard." The original letter (in the Bodleian Library) reads: "The cicala has not yet made himself heard."

After all disagreements have been aired, the predominant feeling of Shelley students and scholars will be one of gratitude to Professor Baker for a good book, beautifully written and full of original observation and thought.

FREDERICK L. JONES

University of Pennsylvania

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*La concorde des deux langages.* Par JEAN LEMAIRE DE BELGES. Edition critique publiée par JEAN FRAPPIER. Paris: Librairie Droz, 1947. Pp. lxxviii + 112.

*Les épîtres de l'amant vert.* Par JEAN LEMAIRE DE BELGES. Edition critique publiée par JEAN FRAPPIER. Lille-Genève: Giard-Droz, 1948. Pp. xlix + 102.

M. le Professeur Jean Frappier, dont l'*Etude sur la mort le roi Artu* a été vivement admirée, vient d'éditer trois ouvrages de Jean Le Maire de Belges qui sont particulièrement remarquables. Il semble qu'on ait été souvent tenté de négliger les œuvres poétiques de notre 'rhétoriqueur,'<sup>1</sup> au profit de sa grande composition en prose, les *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularités de Troie*. On a dit que, parfois, sa prose poétique était 'supérieure à sa poésie,' et on est allé jusqu'à prétendre que Jean Lemaire était un 'médiocre poète.' Ce qui le distingue, pourtant, c'est bien la qualité *poétique* et littéraire de ses œuvres. Celles que nous présente M. Frappier nous permettent de goûter l'art gracieux et aimable de celui qu'on a appelé le premier poète humaniste français.

L'édition complète de ses œuvres est, en général, assez mauvaise. M. Frappier nous donne un texte qui a été établi avec beaucoup de soin, et il nous en offre les leçons les plus satisfaisantes.<sup>2</sup> Il nous a fait connaître les événements de la vie de Jean Lemaire et les conditions dans lesquelles celui-ci composa ses poèmes. Il nous paraît utile d'insister sur les relations de la famille de Bourbon<sup>3</sup> et de Jean Lemaire. Philibert le Beau mourut en septembre 1504, et, dans la première épître de l'amant vert (c'était un perroquet), composée au printemps de 1505, Jean Lemaire fait allusion au deuil récent de Marguerite. Je crois qu'on a tendance à exagérer la mélancolie de cette princesse et son désespoir à la mort de son second mari. On sait que le thème de la tristesse amoureuse est traditionnel, et il nous paraît dangereux d'attribuer à Marguerite des sentiments dont l'expression poétique est toute conventionnelle. Je crois aussi que Marguerite n'adopta la devise *Fortune infortune fort une* qu'en 1506, après la mort de son frère, Philippe le Beau. Bruchet<sup>4</sup> a montré que cette devise apparaît en 1509 lors de la publication, par Jean Lemaire, des *Regretz de la dame infortunée sur le trespas de son tres cher frère unique*. Je l'ai relevée dans un

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. L. Wile, 'Who named them *Rhétoriqueurs*?' *Mediaeval Studies in honor of J. D. M. Ford* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 335-352.

<sup>2</sup> Par exemple, *croissant* (v. 154 de la *Concorde*) au lieu de *croissant* que nous lisons dans une édition qui se trouve à la *Houghton Library*: 'On les vend a Paris en la rue saint Jacques a l'enseigne du pellican devant saint Yves.' M. Frappier en conclut que le Temple de Vénus est gothique.

<sup>3</sup> Abbé Armand Macé, *Une merveille de l'art gothique. La chapelle des Bourbons à la Cathédrale St Jean de Lyon* (Lyon, 1941).

<sup>4</sup> *Marguerite d'Autriche* (Lille, 1927), p. 175.

manuscrit de Michel Riz, écrit probablement dans les derniers mois de 1506.

M. Frappier a excellemment dit le charme de ces épîtres de l'amant vert, et il indique l'allusion qu'a faite Jean Lemaire au *Culex* attribué à Virgile. Il me paraît intéressant de la relever à mon tour.<sup>5</sup> Quant à la *Concorde*, M. Frappier pense qu'elle a été 'composée très probablement, et en tout cas au plus tard, en 1511 . . .', car c'est la date que porte le ms. qu'il utilise. Il me semble qu'il faudrait savoir si 1511 se rapporte au nouveau ou à l'ancien style. Et puis, je crois devoir remarquer que Jean Lemaire se vante, dans la *Concorde*, d'avoir été le premier à employer la *terza rima* en français. Comme il s'était déjà servi du *tercet* en 1503, dans le *Temple d'Honneur*, j'avoue que j'incline à croire que la traduction de l'*Idylle des Roses*, le poème *Nostre Age*, quelques parties du *Temple d'Honneur* et de la *Concorde des deux langages* ont été composés à peu près à la même époque.<sup>6</sup> Je pense que Jean Lemaire a remanié ses poèmes au moment de les imprimer, ce qui explique la mention de Molinet, dans la *Concorde*, comme d'un poète qui est mort.

Notons que le terme de *poésie* que M. Frappier relève (p. xlii, n. 2) dans la *Concorde* se trouve aussi dans la deuxième épître de l'amant vert (v. 448); et puis-je me permettre de faire quelques réserves sur ce que dit M. Frappier au sujet de '*l'alliance de la poésie et de la musique*' (p. xxxix). On sait que Jean de Garlande faisait 'ressortir la versification à la musique, non à la rhétorique'<sup>7</sup> et que Deschamps, comme Molinet, avait des opinions semblables; mais il s'agit, croyons-nous, plutôt d'une question de classification que d'opinion sur la nature de la poésie. Disons enfin que M. Frappier place le Temple de Vénus sur la colline de Fourvière, tandis que je localise ce temple au confluent du Rhône et de la Saône,<sup>8</sup> et terminons en exprimant toute notre admiration pour les savantes éditions de M. Frappier.<sup>9</sup> Si celui-ci a pu interpréter

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 'Un motif de la poésie amoureuse au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,' *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 307-336.—A. Taylor, *The literary riddle before 1600* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948).

<sup>6</sup> 'Jean Lemaire et Ausone,' *MLN.*, LVIII (1943), 594-600.

<sup>7</sup> E. Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique* (Paris, 1902), p. iii.

<sup>8</sup> 'Jean de Meun et les origines du naturalisme de la Renaissance,' *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 624-645. M. Frappier remarque bien (p. liv) que le *Génies* de la *Concorde* est 'un primat des Gaules'; mais il n'admet pas l'assimilation que nous avons faite entre le Temple et l'Eglise St Jean, où l'archevêque de Lyon officie, les jours de fête. Rappelons que l'archevêque Charles de Bourbon avait voulu se faire construire une chapelle attenante à la Cathédrale, et que son frère Pierre avait signé un contrat avec l'archevêque François de Rohan, dont le père était duc de Nemours. M. Frappier croit que le mot *Nemours* qui se lit dans la *Concorde* n'est employé que parce qu'il appartenait à un proverbe. Nous continuons à voir là une allusion possible à la famille des Nemours.

<sup>9</sup> Disons aussi que nous sommes heureux de voir M. Frappier remarquer (p. xxiii) que les raffinements de l'art des rhétoriciens 'ne sont pas sans

avec sympathie et compréhension les œuvres de Jean Lemaire, n'est-ce point dû, non seulement au mérite éminent du commentateur, mais aussi au fait que des compositions du début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle sont présentées par un médiéviste?

MARCEL FRANÇON

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*Tragédie cornélienne, Tragédie racinienne.* By GEORGES MAY.  
Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948. Pp. 255. \$2.50.

Certainly a superior dissertation, well written, thoughtful, and of interest to others as well as to specialists. Dr. May knows his two authors thoroughly and has a good command of his bibliography. I am glad to add that, like a true Frenchman, he discusses Corneille and Racine without once mentioning the baroque or other "bijoux d'Allemagne," as Collé would have called them. His chief contention is that Corneille selects unusual subjects and constantly seeks to surprise the spectators, while Racine chooses familiar subjects, making known almost from the start how things are going to turn out, and is consequently better able to inspire pity and awe than is Corneille with his melodramatic devices.

In seeking, however, to add something new to a long discussed subject, he carries his comparison too far. It is hard to make us believe that the subjects of *Médée*, *Horace*, *Œdipe*, and *Sophonisbe* were less well known to a seventeenth-century audience than were those of the *Frères Ennemis*, *Andromaque*, *Iphigénie*, or *Phèdre*. Seeing this difficulty, Dr. May seeks to find other than esthetic reasons for Corneille's selection of his more familiar subjects. He proposes, for instance, that *Pompée* was written to condemn Richelieu's cruelty and to make a humane minister out of Mazarin. But he forgets that Mazarin was Richelieu's man and that it would have been dangerous to attack the recently deceased cardinal in a play dedicated to his successor. Chaulmer, moreover, had dramatized the same theme and had dedicated his tragedy to Richelieu himself. Surely he did not believe that anyone would accuse him of putting the cardinal on the stage in the disguise of an Egyptian politician. Dr. May writes (p. 41):

Qu'est-ce que cette "mauvaise politique" dont Mazarin est capable de venger "pleinement" grâce à "la justice qu'[il] fait rendre par tout le royaume," sinon celle de Richelieu?

analogie avec le gothique flamboyant et les constructions polyphoniques des musiciens contemporains . . .' Et cela nous rappelle ce qu'a dit Éd. Dohléans, rendant compte d'un livre de L. Febvre: 'il convient de montrer que les éléments divers qui constituèrent une société forment un tout . . .' (*Critique*, iv [1948], 236-242). Aujourd'hui où l'on prône la méthode a-historique, il est réconfortant de lire des critiques qui tiennent compte de l'histoire et des relations inter-dépendantes des diverses formes de l'activité humaine.

Abridged in this way, Corneille's appeal to Mazarin may seem to support Dr. May's argument, but let Corneille speak for himself. He writes that Pompey relies upon

la générosité de Votre Eminence qu'elle ne dédaignera pas de lui conserver cette seconde vie que j'ai tâché de lui redonner, et que lui rendant cette justice qu'elle fait rendre par tout le royaume, elle le vengera pleinement de la mauvaise politique de la cour d'Egypte.

Obviously Corneille is hoping that *Pompée*, the play, will have, with Mazarin's support, the success in France that Pompey, the man, vainly sought at the Egyptian court. There is no reason to read political significance into this dedicatory blurb.

Again, eager to emphasize the element of surprise in Corneille, Dr. May (p. 89) declares that "jusqu'à l'avant-dernière scène du Vème acte [du *Cid*], Chimène, et avec elle tout le public, doit penser que Rodrigue a été tué par Don Sanche." One would hardly guess that the "avant-dernière scène" is the one immediately following that in which Don Sanche appears before Chimène with Rodrigue's sword. Moreover, as the *Cid* was called a tragi-comedy when it was first acted, no one at all familiar with the theater could have supposed for a moment that the hero had been killed. Nor, if the role of Don Sanche was properly acted, would any spectator except the most naïve suppose that he had conquered Rodrigue. Corneille was not trying to deceive his audience in order subsequently to surprise it. He was seeking to get from Chimène a public admission of her love, one that she would not have made if she had known that Rodrigue was alive, and he was presenting the report of the second duel in the play differently from the way in which he had made known the outcome of the first.

On the other hand, Dr. May exaggerates Racine's indifference to surprise. He admits that his theory is not illustrated by *Mithridate*, but he insists that the outcome of *Iphigénie* is foreseen early in the tragedy. Yet the oracle had clearly said, "Sacrifiez Iphigénie." How was the audience to know that Eriphile, as well as her cousin, had been named Iphigénie? It would certainly require much more acumen to guess how Racine's play would end than to understand that Don Sanche had not killed Rodrigue.

As a matter of fact, Corneille and Racine agreed with d'Aubignac that events in a play should be "préparés," but not "prévus." They both understood their audiences better than Diderot did when he urged revelation from the start. Corneille does select, on the whole, less familiar subjects than Racine and makes greater use of surprise, but the two dramatists belonged too much to the same school for us to accept the sweeping distinctions that Dr. May would have us make between them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are a few slips that need correction. P. 29, Corneille's remarks about *Pulchérie* are misunderstood. He is not admitting defeat, but is claiming that, though it was played at the unpopular Marais theater and its characters were "contre le goût du temps," it drew crowds and made

If, however, Dr. May has sought to fit Racine too tightly into one mould and Corneille into another that seems less admirable, he makes amends in his conclusion (p. 235), which I quote to do justice to his sense of fairness:

Si le début du XXème siècle a assisté à un prodigieux regain de faveur pour Racine, le pessimisme et le fatalisme contemporains n'y sont pas étrangers, pas plus que les déceptions amenées par la guerre de 1914-1918. Et le retour à Corneille auquel nous pouvons assister de nos jours n'est certes pas sans rapports avec le besoin instinctif de chercher quelque part l'enseignement du courage et de la grandeur d'âme.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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*Wordsworth's View of Nature.* By NORMAN LACEY. Cambridge: at the University Press [New York: The Macmillan Company], 1948. Pp. viii + 128. \$2.00.

The purpose of this brief study, Mr. Lacey writes, is to present in a new light a part of the facts known about Wordsworth. The new light which the author turns upon the facts is a point of view intended to reveal what is "right" and what is "mistaken" in the poet's search for truth and happiness. In the concluding lines of *The Prelude*, Wordsworth says that he and Coleridge, prophets of nature, are going to instruct mankind in a new gospel. But today, says Mr. Lacey, Wordsworth's vision of a "happy company of imaginative freemen seems as far off as ever. . . . He himself never attained this imaginative freedom" (p. 54).

The reasons for his failure are two. (1) He sought to pattern his attitudes too much after Dorothy's (pp. 117, 57). He entertained the mistaken belief that her relationship to nature and life was the perfect one and that he ought to attune himself to it (pp. 56-7). He could not become like his sister, however, because the reflective had forever supplanted in him the unconscious and immediate. (2) Wordsworth did not sufficiently value his mystic

a reputation for the actors. Pp. 37-8, the authenticity of the poems attributed to Corneille by Marty-Laveaux is far from being established. P. 47, the year when Mairat's *Sophonisbe* was first played is 1634, not 1629. P. 119, I wrote, "encouraged," not "encourages." P. 119, Créon predicts his death, but it is by no means sure that he dies before the play is over. P. 125, read Prospero Bonarelli. P. 128, the lost *Iphigénie* of La Cleriere must be his *Oreste et Pilade*, which in all probability is derived from *Iphigénie among the Taurians* and consequently should not be mentioned here. Pp. 137-8, it is argued that Quesnel's reference to "portraits" supports Charlier's theory that Racine was portraying in *Athalie* the "souverains anglais," but what character in the play is a portrait of James II? And can Joas be a portrait of the Pretender, who was little more than two years old when *Athalie* was completed? P. 167, I would not put Thérémène among the characterless confidants. P. 216, in quoting d'Aubignac's remark about *Sertorius*, Dr. May should have mentioned how violently prejudiced the abbé was at the time.



experiences. When time dulled the edge of his joys in sense, he refused to look beyond them to a fuller life of the imagination; he chose to cling to them and even to their ghosts. More and more he put his trust in spots of time, buried "ten years deep" or even further back in childhood, and their power to lift him up when fallen was not unlimited" (p. 67). He might have gone forward by following a path that lay open before him—the mystic experience, which could have led him to the world of spirit. It is "surprising that he did not realize clearly that he was most certainly in possession of the truth when he was 'laid asleep in body' . . . In those moments, I venture to suggest, he was in touch with the Creator of man and of nature. . . . If Wordsworth . . . could have thought only of the Giver of [these experiences], he might have come within sight of that destiny to which in an earlier mystical experience he had been dedicated" (pp. 64-5). Mr. Lacey does not mean that Wordsworth should have sought further mystic experiences, but that he should have tried to understand them. "There is a way forward . . . to a new spontaneity, to what Kierkegaard called 'immediacy after reflection'" (p. 116).

Mr. Lacey's reading of the poems is thoughtful and often illuminating, yet it is unlikely that his major conclusions (summarized above) will find wide acceptance. In a succession of poems beginning with "Tintern Abbey" Wordsworth faces the fact of permanent loss; and if he clings to the past, it is not to retrieve his lost spontaneity but to compensate for it by building upon proven resources. All the evidence upon the mystic experiences indicates that he considered them "things divine" (*Prelude*, VIII, 559). It is purely speculative to suggest that through any given process, Kierkegaardian or otherwise, he might have gone beyond them to "imaginative freedom" and serenity.

This book would be more useful to students if Mr. Lacey had indicated, by frequent reference, wherein his argument departs from other scholarly opinion. One would wish, for example, that he had shown to what extent he finds his views in harmony with those of Professor Beach, who devoted to Wordsworth some one hundred seventy-five pages of his excellent study of *The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry*. It is difficult to understand Mr. Lacey's opinion that Wordsworth's great contribution to thought was his belief that the universe is animated by a living spirit (p. 115), in view of Professor Beach's demonstration of the prevalence of that idea during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He makes no reference to Professor Beatty in his discussion of associationism or of Professor Havens in his comments on nature and on the mystic experiences. He counts only two such experiences in *The Prelude*; Professor Havens, three (that is, of the particular kind that Mr. Lacey specifies). Such omissions—and they are not infrequent—tend to raise questions about the orientation of the book, in part and as a whole.

JOHN QUINCY WOLF, JR.

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*Pérez Galdós, Spanish Liberal Crusader.* By H. CHONON BERKOWITZ. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 499. \$6.00.

Here are five hundred pages of grist for many a lecture on Spain's great literary figure, Benito Pérez Galdós. Teachers who wish to make the author come alive before the eyes of their students will find a wealth of material in Professor Berkowitz' book. Especially interesting are the opening chapters on the early life of Galdós in Las Palmas. There are the originals of Doña Perfecta and daughter Rosario in the figures of the novelist's own mother and childhood sweetheart. There, too, are the small-town prejudice and lack of tolerance against which Don Benito launched his famous trilogy of novels. To collect material for his book Professor Berkowitz travelled to the Canary Islands, interviewed members of the Galdós family and friends there, as well as in Spain. He must also have gone through many old newspaper files as well as all the magazines and periodicals contemporary to Galdós. Here the reader will find the circumstances leading up to the publication of each novel and how it was received by public and critic alike. Also, all the alternate successes and failures attendant upon Don Benito's early efforts as a dramatist are suspensefully related.

Although this purports to be a popular style biography of Galdós, yet there is one important omission. Much is hinted but little is told of the Spanish author's sex life. Dr. Berkowitz manages to give the impression that he knows a good deal more than his sources in Spain would consent to let him tell. We do learn from the book that Galdós was constantly in need of funds because his indulgences were so expensive. Need for money accounts for much of the author's prolific production; the third series of the *Episodios Nacionales*, for instance, never would have been written had not their creator been in serious financial straits.

The book gives a sane and objective picture of Galdós in politics. A member of the Chamber of Deputies upon two occasions, the Spanish author was too shy to make a speech. He was content to attend sessions and observe. His literary works, especially the *Episodios*, spoke much more persuasively in favor of the cause of Spanish liberalism. Don Benito's political influence probably reached its greatest point in 1901 when the immensely popular anticlerical play, *Electra*, was staged. Professor Berkowitz makes us share the excitement of that great event. It is a high point in the biography, just as it was a climax in the life of Galdós, marking as it did his complete success as a dramatist, when so many critics had maintained that he could not hope to succeed in both drama and novel.

Berkowitz does not see fit to analyze the content of any of Galdós' many titles. He politely assumes that we have read each book, while at the same time he carefully translates into English all quotations and Spanish phrases! The book does, however, make

sense even to one who has not read many of Don Benito's works. The critical reactions cited necessitate the author's giving a fair idea of the theme and treatment of each literary production. Students, on the other hand, can be given the book as a source for term papers without worry on the professor's part but that they will actually have to read the Galdósian titles assigned. Professor Berkowitz has given us a supplement, not a short cut to knowledge. It is a supplement which should be read by everyone seriously interested in the development of the modern novel and drama in Spain.

DONALD F. BROWN

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### BRIEF MENTION

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*Walt Whitman and the Authorship of The Good Gray Poet.* By NATHAN RESNICK. Brooklyn: Long Island University Press. 1948. 38 pp. \$1.75. Mr. Nathan Resnick's thesis is that Whitman himself wrote *The Good Gray Poet*. The proof, he admits, is largely circumstantial and subjective, but he finds corroboration in the fact that Whitman appeared to accept his dismissal by Secretary Harlan without public protest (unusual conduct for him), in similarities between Whitman's style and that of the pamphlet supposedly written by O'Connor, and in Whitman's habit of ghost-writing his own biography under the names of Burroughs, Bucke, and in anonymous articles. The reviewer is not entirely convinced by the stylistic tests. But the possibility of Whitman's having written *The Good Gray Poet* cannot be denied. This idiosyncrasy is well known. Mr. Resnick is not attempting "to violate the sacred image of America's greatest poet," only "to clarify and enlarge" biographical truth.

GAY WILSON ALLEN

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*Les Chansons Élizabéthaines.* By FLORIS DELATTRE and CAMILLE CHEMIN. Paris: Didier, 1948. Pp. 459. This book which consists of an essay by Delattre and translations by Chemin is an excellent example of French taste and literary penetration. In scope it begins with the ballads and ends with the lyrics of the later Jacobean dramatists; it also contains an appended bibliography on Elizabethan music. Delattre writes with scholarship in the back of his head but with a pen that is both decisive and charming. Chemin's translations are free and exact; nonetheless, they are highly poetic. Intended as it is for the French public, this book is likewise a lesson for Englishmen and Americans who have attempted the same type of work and have usually come off so badly.

D. C. A.

## CORRESPONDENCE

AN AMBASSADOR. *Time*,<sup>1</sup> reporting the arrival of a foreign diplomat in Washington, says: "... General Kaiser repeated the 17th Century aphorism\* (\*ftn: attributed to Sir H. Wotton) about an ambassador being an honest man sent abroad to lie for his country. . . ." Sir Henry was not quite so blunt as this; the unequivocal meaning is cloaked in decent Latin, and the English version shows an urbanity more in keeping with his reputation. Walton's anecdote<sup>2</sup> gives the more subtle version: "... Sir Henry Wotton . . . took an occasion . . . to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassador in these very words: 'Legatus est vir bonus, peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa.' Which Sir Henry could have been content should have been thus Englished: 'An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.'" The *NED* gives substantially the English version of Walton s. v. *lie abroad* 'to lodge out of one's house or abode; to reside in a foreign country.'

J. R. HENDRICKSON

*Temple University*

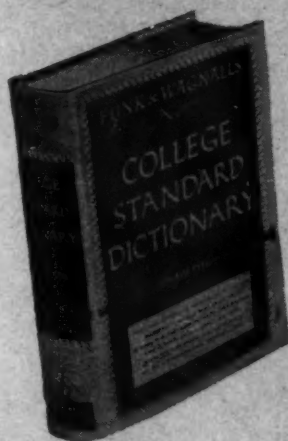
CATULLUS A LA WILDER. In his foreword to *The Ides of March*, Thornton Wilder tells us that all documents are from his imagination except the poems of Catullus and a passage from Suetonius. In the quotation on p. 67, evidently intended to be Carmen V, 4-6, he also seems to have drawn largely on his imagination, or an unusually hazy memory, for only the first of the three lines is quoted correctly. In the second, the verb *occidit* has not only been taken from its proper position, but shifted to the passive; the resulting *occisus est* indicates a confusion between *occidere* and *occidere*, and introduces the additional blunder of making *lux* masculine. In the third line a superfluous *et* has been inserted. Needless to say, these changes have wrecked the meter of both lines. It also seems somewhat incongruous that on p. 135 he should depict Caesar exulting over the emancipation of Roman letters from Greek on the basis of Carmen LI, which is a translation, however brilliant and free, of Sappho's *φαίvera μοι κῆρος ἴσος θεοῖσιν*.

J. R. HENDRICKSON

*Temple University*<sup>1</sup> *Time*, March 1, 1948, p. 14.<sup>2</sup> Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert* (Reprinted by J. M. Dent, London, 1898), I, 155.







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